

# Picturing Men

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Using photography to broaden the  
understanding of masculinity in  
Christchurch, 1880-1930.

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# Abstract

Through the analysis of photographs of Christchurch men, this thesis will explore and expand the historiography around masculinity in New Zealand. It will argue that how men saw themselves was informed by concepts of power and class, alongside aspects such as physical strength and ideas of manliness. Masculinity was a fluid concept; its interpretation differed across class, race and gender lines. The urban masculine identities found in Christchurch during 1880-1930 demonstrate the complexity of gender construction. They offer another view to that of a New Zealand masculinity steeped in stereotypes of rural, isolated men.

Photographs are the central documents within this thesis and the growing field of visual history provides the framework for study. Photograph collections are selected from a variety of sources, including the Canterbury Museum, the Christchurch City Council archives, the Christchurch Club, Christchurch Boys' High School and my own family collection. The selection process centres on presenting collections which offer insight into a variety of settings across Christchurch, and the photographs within this thesis were chosen due to their representation of the collection they came from. Gillian Rose's methodology, which looks at the sites of production, the image, and the audience, shapes the study of the photographs. Read as documents and then situated into the broader contextual understanding of turn of the twentieth century Christchurch, these photographs allow the viewer to read the past with new eyes.

This thesis offers a complementary reading of the masculine history of New Zealand. With an analysis influenced by the theoretical underpinnings of gender history, social history and visual history, the photographs show how ideas of masculinity developed in the urban setting of Christchurch. It highlights how ideas of class shaped the power relations of

men, how physical settings offered different aspects of masculinity to be portrayed. The relationships between men, as well as those between men and women, demonstrate how masculine ideas were not dictated to by stereotypes, but by a range of at times contradictory imagery.

# Acknowledgements

Through a study of New Zealand men a century ago, I have learned a surprising amount about myself. This thesis has challenged and extended my understandings of the past and of my place in the present. It has been a fascinating experience. One which would certainly have been impossible without the great support I have received.

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# Introduction

The enduring imagery of New Zealand masculinity is rooted in the countryside. The focus has been on the rural men, the rugby players, and the idea of 'man alone'. These ideas culminated in Jock Phillips' 1987 book *A Man's Country?* which examined the stereotype of New Zealand masculinity. In the twenty-first century the focus has broadened, with Chris Brickell's *Mates and Lovers* highlighting homosexuality and male relationships, and Brendan Hokowhitu moving beyond the Pakeha focus to engage with Maori men. This thesis looks to continue this expansion by looking at men in urban sites.

The increasing numbers of men and women who lived in urban centres challenges the rural mythology. Ben Schrader argued that whilst New Zealand was founded on an anti-urbanism undercurrent, by the 1880s there was evidence of a drift to the towns and cities.<sup>1</sup> In 1881, nearly 40 percent of the national population was urban and in 1911 New Zealand officially became an urban society with more than 50 percent of people living in towns and cities.<sup>2</sup>

This thesis will use photograph analysis to explore and expand the emerging challenges to traditional understandings of New Zealand masculinity. The city of Christchurch will offer an urban site of engagement to explore ideas surrounding male identity. How men saw themselves was informed by concepts of power and class, alongside aspects such as physical strength and the ideas of manliness. Masculinity is a fluid concept, and its interpretation differed across class, race and gender lines. The urban masculine identities found in

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<sup>1</sup> Ben Schrader, "City images - Colonial views of city life," *Te Ara* (updated 09 November 2012) [www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/city-images](http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/city-images).

<sup>2</sup> Schrader.

Christchurch during the period of study demonstrate the complexity of gender construction and offer a contrasting view to a masculinity steeped in stereotypes of rural isolation.

The urban setting of Christchurch is the backdrop to this thesis. This city offers an example of New Zealand urbanity, and demonstrates the challenges of the traditional framework of the 'kiwi bloke' stereotype. The history of Christchurch has been well-examined by historians, but it is important to offer a brief overview of the history during the fifty-year period of this study.<sup>3</sup> In 1881, the census recorded a greater Christchurch (that is, Christchurch and its surrounding boroughs) population of 30,715, within the 112,650 people who made up Canterbury.<sup>4</sup> By 1906, this had become 67,878 in greater Christchurch, to the 159,106 of Canterbury.<sup>5</sup> In 1926 the population of Christchurch had reached 118,408 people - almost four times the number who lived in the city in 1881 - while the Canterbury region was home to 213,746 people.<sup>6</sup> Trevor Burnard argued that within Christchurch both the existence of the city and its successful development drew from the ideological belief of both the efficacy and moral superiority of urban life over pastoral spaces. He wrote that, "unlike historians and nostalgists, who have championed the pioneering rural frontiersman, miner or farmer as the emblematic New Zealand nineteenth-century hero, the founders of Canter-

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<sup>3</sup> For further discussion, please refer to: M. Mosley, *Illustrated Guide to Christchurch and Neighbourhood (with 64 Illustrations)* (Christchurch: J.T. Smith and Company, 1885); *The Cyclopedia of New Zealand*, volume three: Christchurch (Christchurch: Cyclopedia Printing, 1903); J.P. Morrison, *Evolution of a City* (Christchurch: Christchurch City Council, 1948); James Watson, "Crisis and Change: Economic Crisis and Technological Change between the World Wars, with Special Reference to Christchurch, 1926-36." (PhD thesis, University of Canterbury, 1984; Geoff Rice, *Christchurch Changing: An Illustrated History* (Christchurch: Canterbury University Press, 1999); and John Cookson and Graeme Dunstall (Eds), *Southern Capital: Christchurch Towards a City Biography 1850-2000* (Christchurch: Canterbury University Press, 2000).

<sup>4</sup> Census of New Zealand 1881, *Statistics New Zealand Digitised Collection*  
[http://www3.stats.govt.nz/historic\\_publications/1881-census/1881-results-census.html](http://www3.stats.govt.nz/historic_publications/1881-census/1881-results-census.html) accessed 21 March 2014.

<sup>5</sup> Census of New Zealand 1906, *Statistics New Zealand Digitised Collection*  
[http://www3.stats.govt.nz/historic\\_publications/1906-census/1906-results-census/1906-results-census.html](http://www3.stats.govt.nz/historic_publications/1906-census/1906-results-census/1906-results-census.html) accessed 21 March 2014.

<sup>6</sup> The New Zealand Official Yearbook 1927, *Statistics New Zealand Digitised Collection*  
[http://www3.stats.govt.nz/New\\_Zealand\\_Official\\_Yearbooks/1927/NZOYB\\_%201927.html](http://www3.stats.govt.nz/New_Zealand_Official_Yearbooks/1927/NZOYB_%201927.html) accessed 21 March 2014.

bury saw moral virtue not in the 'barbaric' countryside but in the 'civilised' town."<sup>7</sup> Thus, for the residents of Christchurch, living within an urban setting helped define how they saw themselves. This undoubtedly shaped how the population perceived and understood masculinity. If the rural setting was 'barbaric' then simplifying the view of idealised masculinity to one with rural underpinnings simply does not fit.

Despite this separation of urban and rural, the economic underpinnings of Christchurch were fundamentally tied to the pastoral society.<sup>8</sup> Geoffrey Rice argued in *Christchurch Changing: An Illustrated History* that the prosperity of Christchurch was so reliant on the Canterbury farmers, and their output of wool, wheat and meat, that the city was hit hard by economic downturns.<sup>9</sup> This came to a head in the 1880s as depression hit New Zealand. Early Christchurch historian J.P. Morrison wrote that prices of wool and wheat dropped considerably during this time, prompting the rise of more profitable secondary industries.<sup>10</sup> This turn to the industrial was a great success, and Morrison claimed that by 1903 Christchurch was the chief industrial centre of New Zealand.<sup>11</sup> She wrote that, "Christchurch had achieved distinction as the real industrial capital of a province, the centre of life for a busy factory worker's community as well as for the station owners and small farmers of the province living close to the land."<sup>12</sup> However, as Rice explained, this was a brief moment of dominance before the city was outstripped by Auckland.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> Trevor Burnard, "An Artisanal Town - The economic sinews of Christchurch," in *Southern Capital: Christchurch Towards a City Biography 1850-2000* Eds. John Cookson and Graeme Dunstall (Christchurch: Canterbury University Press, 2000) 117.

<sup>8</sup> J.P. Morrison, *Evolution of a City* (Christchurch: Christchurch City Council, 1948) 84-104; Geoffrey W. Rice *Christchurch Changing: An Illustrated History* (Christchurch: Canterbury University Press, 1999); Burnard, 115-37.

<sup>9</sup> Rice, 49.

<sup>10</sup> Morrison, 88-89.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid*, 104.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid*, 104.

<sup>13</sup> Rice, 51.

The industrial nature of Christchurch is an important component of the shaping of the urban masculine identity. Katie Pickles has argued that the backdrop of the Western industrial revolution was an important aspect of Christchurch's working past.<sup>14</sup> Work and home were separated through the idea of paid labour. On top of this underlying division, Christchurch moved from a market town to a city.<sup>15</sup> Burnard wrote that the conservative nature of the city was shaped by its primarily family-owned and specialised businesses.<sup>16</sup> This will be seen later in this thesis, through the Buchanan Collection, and is an important part of the urbanisation of Christchurch. The main industries within Christchurch were focused internally, on the creation of goods for locals in an ever expanding population, rather than looking for export possibilities.<sup>17</sup>

The expansion of Christchurch also impacted the political structure of the city. The Christchurch Municipal Council was established in January 1862, and renamed as the Christchurch City Council shortly after. Gradually, the surrounding boroughs were amalgamated into Christchurch, starting with Sydenham, St Albans and Linwood being absorbed into the city in 1903. Peter Perry wrote that coping with the growth of the city is a dominant theme in any discussion of Christchurch's changing political geography.<sup>18</sup> The city's growth was not an orderly process, affected as it was by the, "quarrelsome personnel and parochial outlook of local government and perhaps the complexity of the agenda."<sup>19</sup> However, the important roles of the city governance were clear, centring on managing the urban growth in terms of

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<sup>14</sup> Katie Pickles, "Workers and Workplaces," in *Southern Capital: Christchurch Towards a City Biography 1850-2000* Eds. John Cookson and Graeme Dunstall (Christchurch: Canterbury University Press, 2000) 141.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid*, 144.

<sup>16</sup> Burnard, 132-36.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid*, 130.

<sup>18</sup> Peter Perry, "A Geography of Governance," in *Southern Capital: Christchurch Towards a City Biography 1850-2000* Eds. John Cookson and Graeme Dunstall (Christchurch: Canterbury University Press, 2000) 278.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid*, 278-79.



the necessary infrastructure.<sup>20</sup> At this, Perry claims, the city council was ‘unspectacularly successful.’<sup>21</sup>

Alongside the economic and political aspects of Christchurch, a cultural story emerged in one of the largest New Zealand cities during the period of 1880-1930. Rice writes that the city was like, “a far-flung fragment of Victorian England ... a visitor to Christchurch from Norwich or Nottingham in the 1880s would have recognised many familiar institutions.”<sup>22</sup> The colonial past of Christchurch has come under scrutiny recently by Pickles, notably in the aftermath of the 2010 and 2011 earthquakes. She argued that, prior to 22 February 2011, “Christchurch enjoyed one of the tidiest colonial histories in the world.”<sup>23</sup> The transportation of colonial ideas meant the land was seen as a clean slate onto which British imperialism could be stamped, and the success of this was such that most show no consideration for how this was undertaken. Pickles compared the fall of statues of the city’s ‘colonial heroes’ with a clean break from Christchurch’s colonial history.

During the fifty year period of focus for this thesis, Christchurch was in a period of transition. Politically, there was an acceptance of ideas of reform: the Temperance movement flourished in Christchurch, as did the women’s suffrage movement, and the general election of 1890 saw the city become a Liberal stronghold for the next twenty years.<sup>24</sup> As well as this, sports thrived, with Lancaster Park opened in 1881. Rugby and tennis were particularly prominent, as was horse racing and training.<sup>25</sup> War also provided a backdrop both

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<sup>20</sup> Perry, 285.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid*, 287.

<sup>22</sup> Rice, 46.

<sup>23</sup> Katie Pickles, “A natural break from our colonial past,” *Press* 8 April 2011, A15; Katie Pickles, “Postcolonial environments’ in *Making a New Land* Eds Eric Pawson and Tom Brooking (Dunedin: Otago University Press, 2013) 261-77.

<sup>24</sup> Rice, 53.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid*, 55-56.

during the Anglo-Boer War, 1899-1902, and World War One, 1914-1919. Christchurch, thus offers an engaging setting for a discussion of urban masculinity.

Photography is a central component of this thesis. Often used primarily as illustrations, photographs offer a personal interaction with people which can be lost in the written word. The photograph collections were accessed in post-earthquake Christchurch, which encouraged a research method of sourcing photographs which may have otherwise been overlooked. The primary source was Canterbury Museum, which houses a large collection of photographs from Christchurch and throughout the region. There were limitations surrounding the access of collections across Christchurch, with earthquake damage making some photographs inaccessible. This also meant that initial enquiries, such as into the Workingmen's Clubs' archives, were unable to be pursued. In other situations, such as the Christchurch Club or Canterbury Museum collections, alternative options were made available. The photographs selected have all been chosen to reflect the broader collections themselves, focusing on how men have been represented in different settings. It is hoped that this thesis will also offer a framework for the use of photographs as a primary source material in historical enquiry.

Using photographs as historical documents is an approach which is gaining momentum.<sup>26</sup> New Zealand historian Bronwyn Dalley examined this in her 2006 chapter, "Chance

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<sup>26</sup> This momentum was particularly notable at the "Visualising History" session at the New Zealand Historical Association Biennial Conference, where three speakers spoke to a large audience: Catherine Falconer-Gray, "George French Angas and 'sartorial colonisation' in New Zealand, 1844," University of Otago, Dunedin, New Zealand: New Zealand Historical Association Conference 2013 (NZHA), 20-22 Nov 2013; Lyndon Fraser, "Remembering the Dead: Some Reflections on Victorian Memorial Photograph," University of Otago, Dunedin, New Zealand: New Zealand Historical Association Conference 2013 (NZHA), 20-22 Nov 2013; Anna Jensen, "Picturing Men: Using visual history to understand ideas of masculinity at the turn of the century," University of Otago, Dunedin, New Zealand: New Zealand Historical Association Conference 2013 (NZHA), 20-22 Nov 2013.

Residues,” where she argued photographs were worthy of further interaction.<sup>27</sup> She wrote that, “As sources for information about the past, photographs contain many layers.”<sup>28</sup> This was an approach also used by Chris Brickell, looking at photographs as a source rather than simply an illustration, in his three books: *Mates and Lovers* (2008), *Manly Affections* (2012), and *Two-by-Two* (2013).<sup>29</sup> He wrote in *Mates and Lovers* that, “the imagery, the poses, the clothing, the relationships with the others in the frame, the occasional references to more famous photographers or paintings; all of these elements work together to illuminate desire, intimacy and place in the past. Indeed, they often reveal secrets that written words do not.”<sup>30</sup> Angela Wanhalla and Erika Wolf’s edited collection *Early New Zealand Photography: Images and essays* looked to read a selection of photographs taken prior to 1918.<sup>31</sup> They argued that, “with our interest in ‘reading the visual’, we focus on the materiality of the photograph and move away from an approach centred upon the biographies of the photographers. We instead turn our primary attention to colonial cultures of photography and the photograph itself, as well as the photographer.”<sup>32</sup> This work within New Zealand fits into a broader, international turn to the visual. In *Photographs Objects Histories* Elizabeth Edwards and Janice Hart wrote of the benefits of placing the photograph as a central object, therefore becoming active and reciprocal.<sup>33</sup> In their introduction they wrote that, “In so many

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<sup>27</sup> Bronwyn Dalley, “Chance Residues: photographs and social history,” in *Disputed Histories: Imagining New Zealand’s Pasts* Eds. Tony Ballantyne and Brian Moloughney (Dunedin: Otago University Press, 2006) 169-189.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid*, 170.

<sup>29</sup> Chris Brickell, *Mates and Lovers: A history of gay New Zealand* (Auckland: Random House, 2008); Chris Brickell, *Manly Affections: The Photographs of Robert Gant, 1885-1915* (Dunedin: Genre Books, 2012); Chris Brickell, *Two-by-Two: Men in Pairs* (Dunedin: Genre Books, 2013).

<sup>30</sup> Brickell, *Mates and Lovers*, 17.

<sup>31</sup> Angela Wanhalla and Erika Wolf, eds, *Early New Zealand Photography: Images and Essays* (Dunedin: University of Otago Press, 2011).

<sup>32</sup> Angela Wanhalla and Erika Wolf, “Introduction,” in *Early New Zealand Photography: Images and Essays* eds. Angela Wanhalla and Erika Wolf (Dunedin: University of Otago Press, 2011).

<sup>33</sup> Elizabeth Edwards and Janice Hart, “Introduction,” in *Photographs Objects Histories* eds. Elizabeth Edwards and Janice Hart (New York: Routledge, 2004) 15.

ways it is the material that defines our social relations photographs. What we hope has emerged is a sense of the centrality of materiality as a formative element in the understanding of photographs as social images.”<sup>34</sup> By engaging in the visual, there is an opportunity to gain insights from the thousands of photos scattered throughout New Zealand collections. These personal sources, which often offer a unique insight into the private lives of individuals, are too intriguing to be ignored.

The structure of this thesis will revolve around three categories: the public sphere, the private sphere, and the space ‘in between’. The decision to separate the thesis this way has been shaped by an understanding that gender identity is influenced by the setting. How men presented themselves in a male-dominated workplace in 1900 was likely different to how they situated themselves in the family home. Separate spheres is a challenging concept, one which Linda Kerber acknowledged was vulnerable to ‘sloppy use’.<sup>35</sup> She claimed that historians used the phrase awkwardly, so that when separate spheres were used, “historians referred, often interchangeably, to an ideology *imposed on* women, a culture *created by* women, a set of boundaries *expected to be observed by* women.”<sup>36</sup> However, it has been used here for two reasons: it offers a helpful way of structuring the thesis, and it was also an idea that was notable at the time. Rookwood Comport Bishop, who is discussed in more detail in the context of his role as the first mayor of the New Brighton Borough Council, spoke about the separation of the sexes in an 1893 speech introducing a series of lectures on domestic cookery.<sup>37</sup> He was reported in the local paper to have said that:

this was an age when women were accused of invading many of the walks in life at one time

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<sup>34</sup> *Ibid*, 14.

<sup>35</sup> Linda K. Kerber, “Separate Spheres, Female Worlds, Woman’s Place: The Rhetoric of Women’s History,” *The Journal of American History* 75 (1988) 17.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid*, 17.

<sup>37</sup> “Popular Cooking: Opening Lecture,” *Press* 10 February 1893.

looked upon as belonging exclusively to the sterner sex, but he thought they would agree with him that the teaching of the art of cookery seemed peculiarly to belong to the gentler sex. It was to their wives they naturally looked to direct all affairs in connection with their households, and he was afraid the kitchen department was more important to them than they liked to admit.<sup>38</sup>

This separation of the home and the world outside it was real in Christchurch between 1880 and 1930, and thus it is within this that this thesis will focus.

These areas of engagement also draw inspiration from masculinity historian John Tosh and his use of work, family and all-male associations.<sup>39</sup> The public sphere is used in this thesis to mean the settings of activities such as paid work and politics. The private sphere means the family and home. The space 'in between' is one of the more difficult categories to define. This thesis uses the in between to describe the places where men are in a male-dominated setting that also functions as a masculine private sphere. The two examples used are the Christchurch Club and Christchurch Boys' High School because they both offer elements of domesticity, such as the lounge and dining settings of the gentlemen's club and the support structure of the school, but are removed from the feminine influence so closely linked with the private sphere.

The three categories of public, private, and the in between make up the chapters of this thesis. However, first this introductory section will cover a detailed historiographical overview of the history of masculinity. This will look at ideas of stereotype and hegemony, gender, and differences. The methodology will then be discussed in detail, introducing the collections that will be used and how the photographs will be read and interpreted.

Chapter one demonstrates how masculine identity was presented in the public realm, where men define themselves in relation to other men. The thesis thus with the most

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<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>39</sup> John Tosh, "What should historians do with masculinity? Reflections on nineteenth-century Britain," *History Workshop* 38 (1994) 179-202.

common site of masculine history: the public sphere. Here men will be looked at as politicians at the New Brighton Borough Council, as workers and owners at the City Foundry, and atop ladders in the Christchurch Fire Brigade. Chapter two demonstrates the important role men played in the family. It moves beyond the public persona to look at men in the home, where history has often overlooked their presence. This will be done through the use of the photograph albums of the elite Wilding family, the middle-class Gundry family, and wedding portraits of Mr and Mrs Coombe. The posed photographs used highlight how men saw themselves within the private sphere, as active actors but also as tied to a separate world. Chapter three demonstrates how masculinity and domesticity are linked in unexpected ways. It introduces a new category, the in between, where the gentlemen's club and the school are examined as settings that do not sit within the private or public spheres - instead they encapsulate ideas of both.

Out of this study it is hoped that a new appreciation for the complexity of the lived experiences of men will begin to be understood by looking at men in different spheres. By engaging with masculinity and embracing the visual turn, the intention is to drive the scholarship surrounding gender forward, and demonstrate the importance of visual history to the discipline. This thesis will argue that gender construction is steeped in complexity, and the masculine identities of Christchurch men are more challenging than the current scholarship surrounding New Zealand masculinity often suggests. Through an analysis of photographs, the evolving historiography of masculinity will be explored and expanded in an urban setting.

## Historiography of masculinity

The interaction of masculinity, urbanity and photography is the focus of this thesis. The approach has been shaped by theories and concepts presented by scholars in fields such as visual history, masculinity studies, and cultural, social and gender histories. Three key arguments shape this historiographical overview of the study of masculinity, looking at ideas of stereotypes and hegemony, gender, and differences in masculinity. Understanding this background sets the basis for a discussion of the methodology employed to analyse and draw meaning from the photographs.

### Stereotypes and hegemony

Jock Phillips has argued that the frontier myth has shaped the way New Zealand men see themselves. It is in the stories of men against wilderness that the idea of what it meant to be a kiwi bloke developed, he claimed. First released in 1987, *A Man's Country? The Image of the Pakeha Male - A History* centred on the stereotype of white, New Zealand masculinity. It examined the evolving nature of masculinity and how it was linked to a search for an idealised reflection of men, whether as frontiersman or family man. Phillips highlighted the importance of the past to how masculinity was shaped. This was seen in the 1920s, where men found themselves more entrenched in the home but longing for the days of the male-only frontier world. Phillips wrote that there were two worlds:

Two cultures and two value systems: the world of men and the world of women. The problem was that the male had to straddle both worlds. He was socialised in the exclusive culture of men; but his own inner needs and society's demand for social order encouraged him to become a loyal family man.<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> Jock Phillips, *A Man's Country? The Image of the Pakeha Male - A History* Second Edition (Auckland: Penguin, 1996) 259.

Whilst the values which shaped masculine identity were impacted by external events, most prominently war, Phillips argued a link with the frontier myth continued to be maintained by New Zealand men.

The emphasis on stereotype and societal influences are important in Raewyn Connell's concept of hegemonic masculinity. Whilst Phillips made reference to the "ideological hegemony of the male mythology," in the closing pages of his book, for Connell this concept was central to her understanding of masculinity.<sup>41</sup> Connell argued that hegemony controls the actions of individuals through its infiltration into their social understanding of the world, and is not reliant on physical enforcement. Hegemonic masculinity is constructed in relation to the subordinate masculinities, and to femininity, but does not necessarily represent the personalities of a majority of men.<sup>42</sup> It is often represented by idealised male characters, consented to by the majority, and results in the subordination of women.<sup>43</sup> Therefore, the idea of hegemonic masculinity sits comfortably alongside Phillips' discussion of white, New Zealand masculinity. Coming out of sociology, it is a theory which has been central to the field of masculinity history and informed the work of numerous scholars.

Masculinity, as a subject of historical enquiry, has been shaped by the work of Phillips and Connell, and thus understanding their work and its influence is crucial to this thesis. National studies of masculinity, such as Michael Kimmel's *Manhood in America: A Cultural History*, perpetuate the idea of a central masculine idea being at the centre of the societal and individual understanding of what it means to be a man.<sup>44</sup> For Kimmel's America, it was

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<sup>41</sup> Phillips, 284; Raewyn Connell, *Gender and Power: Society, the Person and Sexual Politics* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1987).

<sup>42</sup> Connell, *Gender and Power*, 184.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid*, 185.

<sup>44</sup> Michael Kimmel, *Manhood in America: A Cultural History* Third Edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).



the 'self-made man' who has forged an identity and attempted to prove his masculinity.<sup>45</sup> He sought to explain how understanding the dual ideas of manhood and history were important to understanding American history. He questioned, "How has American history been shaped by the efforts to test and prove manhood - the wars we Americans have waged, the frontier we have tamed, the work we have done, the leaders we admire?"<sup>46</sup> Alongside this national idea of a hegemonic masculinity, sits the broader discussion around empire and men.

Looking at men who opted for adventure on the frontier, or on the frontline of war, scholars such as Graham Dawson, Richard Phillips and John Tosh have directly engaged with ideas of hegemonic masculinity in imperial history by looking at men.<sup>47</sup> For Phillips, the geography of adventure influences the construction of identity, with men, "made, albeit loosely, in the image of their settings. While they appear to be set free in the geography of adventure, they are also confined to the limited range of masculine identities that are possible there - broadly speaking they are confined to hegemonic masculinity."<sup>48</sup> This view of masculinity ties them to a time and space, shaping identity. For Tosh, empire was a man's business, with men drawn to the idea of frontier.<sup>49</sup> A marker on manhood, a space for adventure, sexual freedoms, authority and violence, the colonial world also emphasised the importance of dominance over women.<sup>50</sup> Tosh argued that a driver was the desire to escape the constant negotiation with women. Therefore, "a spell in the colonies promised a homo-

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<sup>45</sup> Kimmel, 6-7.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid*, 2.

<sup>47</sup> Graham Dawson, *Soldier Heroes: British Adventure, Empire and Imagining of Masculinities* (London: Routledge, 1994); Richard Phillips, *Mapping Men and Empire: A Geography of Adventure* (London: Routledge, 1997); and John Tosh, *Manliness and Masculinities in Nineteenth-Century Britain: Essays on gender, family and empire* (Harlow: Pearson Educational, 2004).

<sup>48</sup> Richard Phillips, 66.

<sup>49</sup> Tosh, *Manliness and Masculinities*, 193.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid*, 203.

social paradise, governed by clear-cut masculine values.”<sup>51</sup> Tales of adventure helped to reinforce the masculine identity in late nineteenth century Britain, it shaped what masculinity meant. Out of these engagements with hegemonic masculinity, there is a common thread - the simplicity of the theory. The actions of men, it is argued, are governed by their interaction with an inherent idea of what masculinity means in the time and the place in which they are situated. This broad understanding of hegemonic masculinity has made it easy to apply the theory to a study. However, this poses challenges to its continued use, particularly around what Tosh has deemed a ‘schematic oversimplification’ of Connell’s theory.<sup>52</sup> He wrote that, “The challenge for our subject is to convey the imperatives, contradictions, and ambiguities of masculinity as they were realised in historical experience. We can only accomplish this if we strive to integrate the materialist insights of a generation ago with the beguiling subtleties of cultural interpretations today.”<sup>53</sup> Tosh argued that the cultural turn and the subsequent diminished emphasis on the social understandings of masculinity was a cause of concern.

As an area of inquiry, the gendered history of men sits at a crossroad. It has followed the path of women’s history, first ‘finding’ men in history before attempting to understand the complexity of who these men were. Jock Phillips highlighted the drawbacks of the narrow definition of the male stereotype that has existed in New Zealand, writing that “the sheer ideological hegemony of the male mythology served to disguise conflicts and obscure diversity within society itself. Three issues are of crucial importance: class, race, and the ru-

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<sup>51</sup> Tosh, *Manliness and Masculinities*, 208.

<sup>52</sup> John Tosh, “Hegemonic masculinity and the history of gender,” in *Masculinities in Politics and War: Gendering Modern History*, ed. Stefan Dudink, Karen Hagemann, and John Tosh (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004) 41-58.

<sup>53</sup> Tosh, “Hegemonic masculinity and the history of gender,” 56.

ral/urban divide.”<sup>54</sup> This thesis has built upon the theory which has steered the enquiry into masculinity studies to date, and has responded to the crucial issues highlighted by Phillips by focusing on urban men, and their interaction with class and power.

## Gender

The history of New Zealand masculinity has predominantly been viewed within the broader setting of gender history. Discussion around men is situated within a comparative interaction with women, highlighting the changes within the understanding of gendered identity. Bev James and Kay Saville-Smith’s 1989 book *Gender, culture and power* examined the feminine ‘Cult of Domesticity’, and the masculine ‘Man Alone’ and ‘Family Man’ in the study of the gendered shaping of contemporary society.<sup>55</sup> They argued that, “the construction of masculinity which integrated the Man Alone and the Family Man incorporated all men irrespective of race or class. The inclusiveness of male culture was a direct consequence of its development as a mechanism by which potentially disruptive social groups of men might be co-opted and controlled.”<sup>56</sup> Using a social science approach they were primarily concerned with contemporary concepts of a gendered culture.

The end of the nineties led to a renewed engagement with gender in New Zealand, and three important books were published on this between 1999 and 2003.<sup>57</sup> Caroline Daley and Deborah Montgomerie’s edited collection *The Gendered Kiwi* was a consciously New Zealand European study that looked at men and women together. Whilst there was exclu-

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<sup>54</sup> Jock Phillips, 284.

<sup>55</sup> Bev James and Kay Saville-Smith, *Gender, Culture, and Power: Challenging New Zealand’s Gendered Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989).

<sup>56</sup> James and Saville-Smith, 42.

<sup>57</sup> Caroline Daley and Deborah Montgomerie, eds, *The Gendered Kiwi* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1999); Caroline Daley, *Girl & Women, Men & Boys: Gender in Taradale, 1886-1930* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1999); Barbara Brookes, Annabell Cooper and Robin Law, eds, *Sites of Gender: Women, Men and Modernity in Southern Dunedin, 1890-1939* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2003).

sively masculine content, most notably Charlotte Macdonald's rebuttal of Jock Phillip's reading of the imbalanced sex numbers in his 'man's country' thesis, the focus was on the gender history of white New Zealand.<sup>58</sup> Daley also released her own monograph in 1999, *Girls & Women, Men & Boys: Gender in Taradale 1886-1930*. She examined the genders in isolation and in their interactions together, to draw out how gender identities and relations changed in the course of forty-four years.

New Zealand's most comprehensive study of gender relations came out of Dunedin's Caversham Project. This project began thirty years ago and led to the creation of the largest social history database in Australasia, focused on the borough of Caversham in Dunedin.<sup>59</sup> One contribution out of this was the 2003 edited collection, *Sites of Gender: Women, Men and Modernity in Southern Dunedin, 1890-1939*, which looked at various 'sites' of change: the collection examined gender in relation to work; education; consumption; leisure; poverty; transport; health; and religion. The editors argued that, "a close analysis of these sites of gender indicates that, as the pace of social change quickened, masculinity and femininity were redefined - the latter more dramatically than the former - but in ways which often reaffirmed difference and inequality."<sup>60</sup> It was within this broader setting that masculinity was understood, explained primarily out of its relationship with femininity.

Alongside these books sat contributions to the field of New Zealand masculinity studies which examined contemporary gender identities, tying them to the historical construction. The 1999 edited collection *Masculinities in Aotearoa/New Zealand* looked to ap-

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<sup>58</sup> 'Too many men and too few women: Gender's 'fatal impact' in nineteenth-century colonies', Caroline Daley and Deborah Montgomerie, eds., *The Gendered Kiwi*, (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1999).

<sup>59</sup> Barbara Brookes, Annabell Cooper and Robin Law, eds, *Sites of Gender: Women, Men and Modernity in Southern Dunedin, 1890-1939* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2003) vii.

<sup>60</sup> Barbara Brookes, Annabell Cooper and Robin Law, "Situating Gender" in *Sites of Gender: Women, Men and Modernity in Southern Dunedin, 1890-1939* ed. Barbara Brookes, Annabell Cooper and Robin Law (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2003) 2.

ply international theories of masculinity to a local context and engaged in an approach influenced by post structuralism and hegemonic masculinity.<sup>61</sup> Multi-disciplinary, this collection intended to 'go beyond blokes' and think about the construction, reinforcement, representation and contestations of masculinities in New Zealand.<sup>62</sup> As well as this, Katie Pickles argued in 2002 that the construction of 'kiwi icons' celebrated historical narratives in a way that highlights the continuity of myth-making.<sup>63</sup> She wrote that myths of nation building have been constructed from the ideas of separate spheres, transported from Britain.<sup>64</sup> This has played out in national heroes, such as Barry Crump, Sir Edmund Hillary, and Dame Kiri Te Kanawa.

The gender turn in New Zealand history set the basis for further study in the field. Daley and Montgomerie reflected on this in *The Gendered Kiwi* introduction, noting the limitations of their approach.<sup>65</sup> Acknowledging the need for a focus on men as well, the hope was that the collection would provoke disagreement and more analysis.

## Differences

Tosh argued in 1994 that masculinity deserved its place within the broader field of history.<sup>66</sup> He wrote that a, "profound dualism in Western thought has served to keep the spotlight away from men. In the historical record it is as though masculinity is everywhere but no-

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<sup>61</sup> Robin Law, Hugh Campbell and Ruth Schick, "Introduction" in *Masculinities in Aotearoa/New Zealand* ed Robin Law, Hugh Campbell and John Dolan (Palmerston North: Dunmore, 1999) 14.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid*, 7.

<sup>63</sup> Katie Pickles, "Kiwi Icons and the Re-Settlement of New Zealand as Colonial Space," *New Zealand Geographer* 58:2 (2002) 5-16.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid*, 8.

<sup>65</sup> Daley and Montgomerie, 13.

<sup>66</sup> John Tosh, "What should historians do with masculinity? Reflections on nineteenth-century Britain," *History Workshop Journal* 38 (1994) 179-80.

where.”<sup>67</sup> This underpinning has resulted in Tosh being one of the most prolific scholars in the enquiry of masculinity in history, moving the focus from the ideology of manliness, to looking at men’s lives in different settings. The 1999 *A Man’s Place* focused on the formation of masculinity within the Victorian home.<sup>68</sup> Tosh drew attention to the contradictions and struggles of men in a time where their role, along with women’s roles, was undergoing change. He wrote that, “Men ... were in the privileged position of passing freely between home, work and the public sphere. Yet that very freedom set up the strain of competing demands.”<sup>69</sup> The resulting rebellion against the domestic realm by men, Tosh argued, coincided with the rise of empire and the promise of adventure abroad.

New Zealand historiography has offered several examples of scholars highlighting the differences in ideas of masculinity, drawing on class, consumerism, race and sexuality in particular. Megan Woods’ 1995 honours paper, “Behind Closed Doors: A study in elite Canterbury masculinity 1856-1900 - with specific reference to the Christchurch and Canterbury Clubs,” put class at the centre of the masculine discussion. Countering Phillips’ conclusions from a decade earlier, Woods argued that elite men developed a code of masculinity which was distinctive and unlike the stereotype of pastoral mate-ship.<sup>70</sup> Woods’ wrote that, “this code of masculinity was hierarchical and heavily grounded in the concept of a respectable front. ... When considering masculinity in nineteenth century New Zealand it is vital that elite men are seen as having a particular style of masculinity and not simply labelled as

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<sup>67</sup> Tosh, “What should historians do with masculinity?” 180.

<sup>68</sup> John Tosh, *A Man’s Place: Masculinity and the middle-class home in Victorian England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999).

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid*, 142.

<sup>70</sup> Megan Woods, “Behind Closed Doors: A study in elite Canterbury masculinity 1856-1900 - with specific reference to the Christchurch and Canterbury Clubs,” (Honours dissertation, University of Canterbury, 1995).

elite.”<sup>71</sup> Woods’ dissertation set the stage for further investigation by highlighting one inherent weakness in the man’s country thesis and bringing class to the fore. It also brought attention to the urban setting.

The changing and contrasting ideas of masculinity were discussed in two theses which looked at men as consumers.<sup>72</sup> Again implicitly looking at men in the cities, Frazer Andrewes and Danielle Sprecher’s arguments centred on the use of men’s clothing to understand masculine identity. Andrewes examined the idea of how masculinity was represented in post-war New Zealand, with his argument that in the post-war period, meanings of masculinity were contested and the idea of a hegemonic stereotype was inappropriate.<sup>73</sup> Linking the business suit to an idea of power, Andrewes argued a new masculinity which was created in public discourse.<sup>74</sup> This idea was further developed by Sprecher with her work on men’s and women’s fashion in the interwar years. Her thesis, “The Right Appearance,” looked at clothing and fashion as social constructions, through which Sprecher believed information could be garnered on the differences and ambiguities in power relations.<sup>75</sup> Importantly, men were also worthy of study as consumers - traditionally considered a domain for the study of women.

These ideas are also reflected in the international scholarship, and Christopher Breward addressed this in his 1999 book *The Hidden Consumer*.<sup>76</sup> He argued that, “masculine fashion items have been subsumed by the familiar assumption that the discourse of

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<sup>71</sup> Woods, 26.

<sup>72</sup> Frazer Andrewes, “Representations of masculinity in postwar New Zealand, 1945-1966” (Master’s thesis, University of Auckland, 1995); Danielle Sprecher, “The Right Appearance” (Master’s thesis, University of Auckland 1997).

<sup>73</sup> Frazer Andrewes, 7.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid*, 74.

<sup>75</sup> Sprecher, “The Right Appearance” 1.

<sup>76</sup> Christopher Breward, *The Hidden Consumer: Masculinities, Fashion and City Life 1860-1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999).

separate spheres enforced by a model of masculinity in which an overt interest in clothing and appearances automatically implied a tendency towards unmanliness and effeminacy.”<sup>77</sup> One of the earliest examinations of men’s fashion was Jo Barraclough Paoletti’s 1985 article “Ridicule and Role Models as Factors in American Men’s Fashion Change, 1880-1910,” which looked at why the modern business suit was adopted by American men.<sup>78</sup> She found that changes in clothing appeared to reflect a desire to assert one’s masculinity, and argued that, “old role models lost favour and were even ridiculed, so that young men concerned with appearing to be capable and masculine had reason to avoid the dress of the Perfect Gentleman.”<sup>79</sup> More recently, Mark Moss discussed this in *The Media and Models of Masculinity*.<sup>80</sup> His chapter on masculine adornment argued men have embraced consumption outside of the ‘traditional’ realm of masculine interests.<sup>81</sup> Moss wrote that, “men, simply put, increasingly own up to the fact that they derive as much pleasure and satisfaction as women in the shopping experience.”<sup>82</sup> The history of men and the rise of masculinity studies has shown that, just as women were active in politics and the ‘public sphere’, men have long had an interest in areas which have been described as feminine pursuits.

As well as viewing the behaviour of men within the scope of what was traditionally feminine areas of study, such as domestic settings and as consumers, different models of masculinity began to be addressed in the twenty-first century. In a New Zealand context, it is important to consider Maori men, and this has begun with the work of scholars such as Brendan Hokowhitu. In a move reminiscent of the early stages of women’s history, the first

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<sup>77</sup> Breward, 10.

<sup>78</sup> Jo Barraclough Paoletti, “Ridicule and Role Models as Factors in American Men’s Fashion Change, 1880-1910,” in *Costume* 19 (1985) 121-34.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid*, 132.

<sup>80</sup> Mark Moss, *The Media and Models of Masculinity* (Maryland: Lexington Books, 2011).

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid*, 47-64.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid*, 51.



objective has been to 'find' Maori men in history. "Tackling Maori Masculinity: A Colonial Genealogy of Savagery and Sport," was published in 2004 and looked at the importance placed upon physicality within the idea of Maori masculinity. Out of the 'physical savage' discourse, Hokowhitu examined the idea of Maori men as physical, practical minded and naturally athletic.<sup>83</sup> He argued that, "for a culture on the brink of extinction and subjected to explicit racism in nearly all walks of society, sport offered *tane* a sort of salvation."<sup>84</sup> Hokowhitu found Maori men on the sports field, revered for their 'natural' athleticism and physical prowess. This critique of Maori masculine identity was extended in further work.<sup>85</sup> In 2008, he argued that, "it will be difficult for Maori masculinity to escape the confines of the Othering process. History suggests that images of Other men are so entrenched in the fears of white men that we will have to struggle to throw off the shackles of these images, nurtured in the popular imagination through films like *Whale Rider*."<sup>86</sup> This consideration of race and masculinity is an important area of consideration in the field.

Another addition to the realm of masculinity studies is an engagement with homosexuality in history, which has been explored in detail by New Zealand scholar Chris Brickell. In *Mates and Lovers* Brickell recast New Zealand history through a sexuality lens, and questioned some of the core concepts of male masculinity by adding discussion of intimacy into the equation. He argued that, "the study of sexual history also challenges accepted views of society and its inhabitants, especially the notion that our current understandings of sex and

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<sup>83</sup> Brendan Hokowhitu, "Tackling Maori Masculinity: A Colonial Genealogy of Savagery and Sport." *The Contemporary Pacific* 16: 2 (2004) 266.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid*, 269-70.

<sup>85</sup> Brendan Hokowhitu, "The Silencing of Maori Men: Deconstructing a "Space" for Maori Masculinities" *NZ Journal of Counselling* 27:2 (2007) 63-76; Brendan Hokowhitu, "The Death of Koro Paka: "Traditional" Maori Patriarchy" *The Contemporary Pacific* 20:1 (2008) 115-141.

<sup>86</sup> Hokowhitu, "The Death of Koro Paka" 134.

intimacy point to natural, universal elements of human experience.”<sup>87</sup> Once again, the first challenge was to ‘find’ homosexuality in New Zealand’s past, and Brickell explained that, “ideas about self-control moulded nineteenth-century definitions of selfhood and sexuality. It was rarely presumed that some men desired their fellows and others did not, as is commonly believed today. Instead, many Victorians argued, everyone was capable of illicit attachments, but most men managed to control the homoerotic side of their nature.”<sup>88</sup> Brickell traced the evolution of changing ideas regarding sexuality, and the impact this had on the perception of male intimacy by society.

There are three key themes presented in the historiography of the history of masculinity, and these trace stereotype, gender, and difference. This burgeoning field highlights the broad directions the study of men as a gendered group can undertake.

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<sup>87</sup> Chris Brickell, *Mates and Lovers*, 13.

<sup>88</sup> Brickell, 32.

## Methodology

Reflections on photography have often highlighted the changing role of technology, the transition to photography as art, and biographical discussions of the photographers themselves. Walter Benjamin's 1931 "A Short History of Photography," explained that:

The fog surrounding the origins of photography is not quite as thick as that enveloping the beginnings of printing. In the case of the former it was perhaps more obvious that the hour of invention had arrived, for it had been apprehended by a number of people: men striving independently towards the same goal, that is, to capture images in the *camera obscura* which had certainly been known since Leonardo's time.<sup>89</sup>

Photography was the outcome of hundreds of years of technological developments, which came together in the daguerreotype in 1837 and was announced to the world as the gift of France in 1839. This offered individuals the ability to record life in its intrinsic detail, with an eye previously unavailable. Benjamin reflected on the precision of photography, and the ability for life to be captured in more detail through the addition of aids such as lenses and enlargements. He wrote that, "Photography makes aware for the first time the optical unconscious, just as psychoanalysis discloses the instinctual unconsciousness."<sup>90</sup> What this offers is the temptation for photographs to be taken as self-evident and true.

### Capturing masculinity

Eight photograph collections form the heart of this thesis. They all feature men, and have been chosen to sit within three categories: the public sphere; the private sphere; and the 'in-between'. The selection process for these collections was shaped by the accessibility of archives in post-earthquake Christchurch. However, this resulted in few disadvantages and instead encouraged new ways to source material. The primary location for research was Canterbury Museum which held photographs that were accessible in a variety of ways. The

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<sup>89</sup> Walter Benjamin, "A short history of photography," *Screen* 5:26 (1972) 5.

<sup>90</sup> Benjamin, 7.

copy-print folders offered a wide array of images which had been organised by the museum staff, while digital listings and collection record lists were made available for access. Half of the collections to be analysed were sourced from the museum. Alongside this, the Christchurch City Council, my mother, the Christchurch Club and Christchurch Boys' High School all offered additional collections for discussion.

Deciding what would be included for closer analysis rested on several key points. Several hundred photographs were viewed during the collations process, and these have been reduced to the nineteen images which are discussed in this thesis. Firstly, the subject was considered to ascertain that it offered a representative sample of the broader collections. This included categorising the photographs according to the three subsections of this thesis. Secondly, collections were chosen to ensure that the subsections contained a spread of societal representation. Due to the nature of this exercise, particular consideration has been made of the elite and middle class members of society. This is because of both accessibility issues and a desire to highlight the class difference within Christchurch during 1880-1930. Finally, when two or more collections offered similar attributes, aspects such as the quality of the image became important.

The photographs used in this thesis were created for a variety of reasons, including official institutional records, family albums, wedding portraits, and workplace memorabilia. This disparity highlights the lack of an overarching narrative of New Zealand masculinity and is a deliberate decision. It recognises that a discussion of Christchurch men cannot draw exclusively from one source. Instead, the complexity of masculinity has been highlighted in the different avenues pursued. The outcome of this process has been to gather a range of collections which presents a subset of Christchurch masculinity during the period of 1880-

1930. It has been chosen to be representative and also to offer a new perspective on the past. This thesis has been formulated in such a way that Christchurch offers a setting of urbanity. Therefore, it is argued that the framework used here could be applied to cities and towns across New Zealand, and that the conclusions would likely be similar.

### ***The Council Collection***

The Christchurch City Council archival holdings have provided insights into the men, and later women, who were involved in the running of the city. Out of the broader collection of images available, this thesis focuses on the Council photographs from the New Brighton Borough Council which was established in 1897. A series of images, from the founding of the borough through to 1931, offers an engagement with the men who represented the people of New Brighton. This highlights the urbanisation of the city, and the impact this has on concepts of masculinity.

### ***The Buchanan Collection***

Robert Buchanan arrived in Christchurch from Scotland in 1870, and established his iron foundry business eight years later. Referred to variously as 'The City Foundry', 'Buchanan's City Foundry', or 'R. Buchanan and Son', the business was well known, and still exists to this day. This collection has been sourced from Canterbury Museum's broader selection of photographs, and initially examined alongside images from other similar firms. It has been highlighted for further discussion because it offers an insight into urban, industrial Christchurch in a male-dominated setting.

### ***The J N Taylor Collection***

John Nelson Taylor was a keen photographer, and had work published in numerous publications in the early 1900s. He was the father of the better known William Anderson Taylor, with whom he immigrated to New Zealand from their home in Scotland in about 1891. J N

Taylor photographed various subjects, but under examination here is a series of photographs he took of the Christchurch fire brigade in action. Taken around 1900, before the introduction of the motorised fire engine, these images are interesting studies of masculinity through their focus on traits such as braveness and manly spaces.

### ***The Wilding Collection***

The Wilding family name is most notably linked to Anthony, a tennis star who was regarded as one of the world's greatest tennis talents before he was killed in action during World War One. More broadly, the Wilding family represent the elite within early Christchurch with father Frederick a noted barrister, appointed as King's Counsel in 1913. Canterbury Museum hold a selection of Wilding photos, and within this there are several family albums. As documents, the albums allow the viewer to see what was perceived at the time to be an important collection, and how family members chose to represent themselves.

### ***The Gundry Collection***

The decision to include the Gundry family has been shaped by two factors. Firstly, they offer an example of a middle-class family who would otherwise be invisible to researchers. Hidden within a private collection of photographs, the Gundry Collection allows the viewer to begin understanding the factors that have shaped the life of William Hickley Gundry. Out of this one can begin to draw an idea of how he has constructed his ideas of masculinity. The second reason this photograph has been included, was because it sat within the collection of photographs held by mother, Louise Jensen. As a result of this, it offers a unique engagement with the past.

### ***The Beken Collection***

The Beken Collection originated with Charles Beken but has been shaped by its place within Canterbury Museum. Beken, the son of a carpenter, was born en route to New Zealand on

board *Zealandia*. A keen amateur photographer, Beken had a large selection of wedding photographs including two of a couple which have been examined more closely. The wedding ritual has drawn attention from researchers in the past, but primarily through the viewpoint of women involved in the institution. However, given the increased interaction of historians with men in the domestic environment, it is prudent that the gaze move to the man who is pictured alongside his bride. The idea of men as bridegroom and as husbands has been an area of study too often overlooked.

### ***The Christchurch Club Collection***

The elite Christchurch Club traced its origins to 1856 and, for the period of study, was marked by its exclusive masculinity. Founded as a 'rural club' and a city home for the run holders of Canterbury, by the 1880s the Club was also frequented by increasing numbers of city professionals. Whilst the source material is limited, due in part to earthquake damage, a key photograph allows one to drive a discussion of the model of class and masculinity within an all-male association. Gordon Ogilvie's book *The Shagroons' Palace: A History of the Christchurch Club 1856-2006* has provided the photograph for this study.

### ***Christchurch Boys' High School Collection***

Remaining in the space of the 'in-between', the Christchurch Boys' High School collection is a site of interpretation of boyhood, masculinity, and the impact of the Great War. Through a gendered lens, this collection centres on the school magazines of the war years, with the photographs chosen for close examination drawn from the 1917 editions. Through the imagery of leadership, physicality and war, the importance of World War One in shaping the young boys ideas of masculinity is reflected upon. Fundamental to this is the engagement with images of past pupils who have been killed in action.

## Reading the visual

Cultural Geographer Gillian Rose highlighted the importance of a critical approach to engaging with photographs. She wrote that:

Visual imagery is never innocent; it is always constructed through various practices, technologies and knowledges. A critical approach to visual images is therefore needed: one that thinks about the agency of the image, considers the social practices and effects of its viewing, and reflects on the specificity of that viewing by various audiences, including the academic critic.<sup>91</sup>

In *Visual Methodologies*, Rose argued for the importance of sites at which visual images are interpreted and meanings are made: site(s) of production; site of image itself; and the site(s) where they are seen by various audiences.<sup>92</sup> This has shaped the reading of images in this thesis, along with Penny Tinkler's *Using Photographs in Social and Historical Research*.<sup>93</sup>

Fundamentally, the reading of the photographs has been done on the basis of understanding what the image is of, when, why and by whom was it was taken, who was the subject and what was the image suggesting to the viewer. This needed to constantly be set against the gendered interpretation of the photograph, and the awareness of viewing the past with twenty-first century preconceptions.

## Interpreting the visual

Reading photographs as a historical document is filled with challenges and potential pitfalls.

In her 1977 essay, "In Plato's Cave," Susan Sontag claimed:

Any photograph has multiple meanings; indeed to see something in the form of a photograph is to encounter a potential object of fascination. The ultimate wisdom of the photographic is to say: "There is the surface. Now think - or rather feel, intuit - what is beyond it, what the reality must be like if it looks this way." Photographs, which cannot themselves explain anything, are inexhaustible invitation to deduction, speculation, and fantasy.<sup>94</sup>

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<sup>91</sup> Gillian Rose, *Visual Methodologies: An introduction to researching with visual materials* (London: Sage, 2012) 17.

<sup>92</sup> Rose, 19.

<sup>93</sup> Penny Tinkler, *Using Photographs in Social and Historical Research* (London: Sage, 2013).

<sup>94</sup> Susan Sontag, *On Photography* (London: Penguin, 2008) 23.



Sontag explained that the reality which is portrayed by the photograph will always imply more than its surface reveals. This shapes the interpretation of the visual source.

This thesis uses text, intertextuality and context to gain meaning from the image. It is an outline which is based on a methodology discussed by Rose, which takes its lead from the work of French philosopher Michel Foucault.<sup>95</sup> In 1969, Foucault published *L'Archéologie du Savoir* which translated to *The Archaeology of Knowledge* and explained the methodological approach the philosopher employed in his first three books.<sup>96</sup> The move to archaeological knowledge reflected a desire to understand the history of discourse. That is the statements which shape how 'a thing is thought,' and the way this shapes the people's actions. As discourses have competed for power, some have gained dominance and have thus held power within society in their ability to shape the actions of the masses. This dominance rests on the belief that they represent reality.

This thesis has sought to highlight the complexity of masculine identity through the methodology of discourse analysis. The basis of this analysis lies in the close reading of each image.<sup>97</sup> Images have been selected in a manner which reflects dominant themes of the broader collections. Then, each photograph is assessed closely and contextualised. Alongside the visual images, primary sources such as newspaper reports have been examined to add intertextuality to the reading. Through this, the production of ideas of truth has been highlighted, alongside clear attempts of dissent from the dominant discourse. The close reading of the material has been driven by a search for the complexity and contradictions which make up the discourse, including awareness for the invisible subjects.

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<sup>95</sup> Rose, 189-225.

<sup>96</sup> Michel Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge and the Discourse on Language* trans. A.M. Sheridan Smith (New York: Pantheon, 1972).

<sup>97</sup> Rose, 189-225.

# The Public Sphere

## Chapter One

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### Introduction

The dominant ideas of New Zealand's identity have been shaped in rural imagery. Landscape portraiture overwhelmed the visual representation of New Zealand at the turn of the twentieth century, linking ideas of open spaces and the intrinsic nature of the nation. Against this backdrop, Jock Phillips has argued that the masculine stereotype was an adaptation of a frontier legend, where men succeeded by demonstrating their physical prowess. This thesis argues that this framework does not sit comfortably in the city. How men exerted power in an urban setting is different to the reliance on physical strength that Phillips' highlights as the stereotype of New Zealand masculinity.

Engaging with the public sphere acknowledges the importance this setting has had in placing men in history. It is the site that was most familiar, as men were tied to their perceived roles as breadwinners, politicians, and public volunteers. The public sphere was the world of politics, commerce and the setting for nation-building. It existed outside of the private sphere, which encompasses the family and home. Masculinity was thus shaped alongside the perceived role of men as the visible actors in society. By looking at photographs of men in the public sphere, it can begin to be understood how they sought to present themselves, and how they were viewed by society. Within this public realm, what comes to the fore is how men defined themselves in relation to other men. This chapter highlights three

significant sites, demonstrating how masculine identity can be seen to be portrayed within each of them. The New Brighton Borough Council offers an insight into the political stage, Buchanan's Iron Foundry brings the attention to the industrial heart of urban Christchurch at the turn of the twentieth century, and the Christchurch Fire Brigade highlights the idealised urban masculinity.

The three collections used in this chapter were accessed from the Christchurch City Council Archives and Canterbury Museum. The decision on what to incorporate was based on several considerations. Firstly, to understand if there was an inherent disparity of masculine identities in the public sphere, photographs from different sites were selected. This shaped what collections were chosen for further study, as it meant looking first at how to group the available photographs. Within these broader groupings, which included official council photographs, industrial workplaces, and cityscapes, collections were highlighted that offered a range of photographs for analysis, and also offered themes which were recurrent in other photographs of the group. Some photographs were discarded due to their inconsistency, as they did not sit within a noted grouping. Space considerations also dictated how many collections would be assessed.

With the collections grouped and reviewed, this thesis settled on three sites which incorporated men from the seaside borough of New Brighton, an industrial workplace in the central city, and the public streets of Christchurch. These three settings offer an insight into how different environments shaped the identities of men, helping to extend the discussion beyond Connell's argument of hegemonic masculinity. Reading the photographs highlights how men shaped their own sense of masculinity, often through their relationships and interactions with other men.

## New Brighton Borough Council

Carefully dressed and posed, the men of the New Brighton Borough Council showed an awareness of how they are presented to the camera recording their image. The official council photographs were staged deliberately and highlighted the importance of power to the identity of the men elected as councillors. Sourced from the Christchurch City Council archives, these three photographs and the three mayors at the centre of each show the transition of power within the council. Each photograph was carefully labelled, noting who and what has been recorded, so that they could have been mounted on the walls of the council office. However, they now exist within a digital collection and have been scanned, copied and disseminated in a way that has altered their original form and meaning. Read as a reflection of Christchurch masculinity within the halls of local body politics, this collection demonstrates the similarities and differences within the images of power over a period of thirty-five years. Using categories of class, gender and race as avenues of analysis allows the viewer to draw out how masculinity was portrayed in this public setting.

The square frame around R.C. Bishop highlighted the important position he held within the New Brighton Borough Council (Figure 1:1).<sup>1</sup> Collated from a number of photographs, the first visual record of the newly formed council introduced the men who were elected by the constituents of the borough. Presented by C.H. Manning and Co., this image demonstrated the technical challenges of photography at the end of the nineteenth century. Instead of gathering the men together, individual portraits were taken in a studio and inserted onto a page. The photographs may have been either supplied by the men, or taken

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<sup>1</sup> Various spellings were found for Mr Bishop, with conflicting information about whether he was Rockwood or Rookwood. However, with his latter two marriage certificates and his death certificate recording Rookwood, the author has opted to use this spelling.

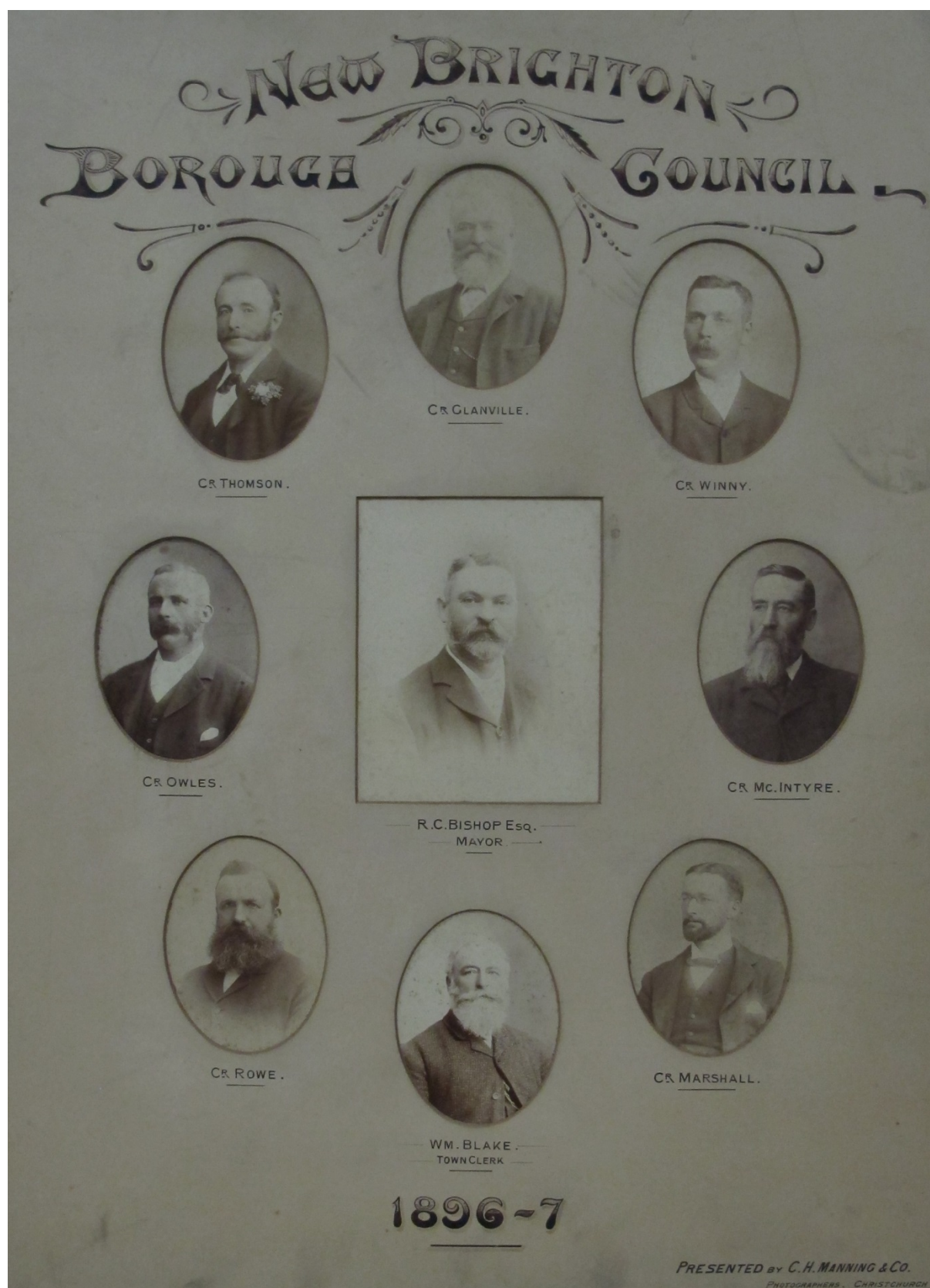


FIGURE 1:1 NEW BRIGHTON BOROUGH COUNCIL 1896-97, CHRISTCHURCH CITY COUNCIL ARCHIVE

by a photographer commissioned by the council. However, whilst the councillors may have had some influence over how they looked in their individual photographs, the format of the image demonstrates the agency of the studio collator. The placement of Bishop in the centre reinforced his power as the mayor of New Brighton. Around him sat the men elected to the council, and at the bottom of the page is the town clerk W. M. Blake.

Bishop stared directly at the photographer in Figure 1:1, with his left shoulder slightly closer to the camera. Cropped so that only his head and shoulders are in focus, his pose was similar to the rest of the men in the image and identical to the stance Blake held beneath him. The clothing of Bishop also fit the broader group, with suit jackets visible in all of the individual photographs. These markers, along with the carefully groomed facial hair and their involvement in the council, indicated the upper-middle class status of the men. This was reflected in the jobs the men held with Mr Bishop, an accountant and the secretary of Christchurch Gas Company, later the general manager; James Glanville, an architect; Charles Henry Winny, a manager at timber merchant Messrs William White and Co.; George McIntyre, a surveyor who established the firm McIntyre and Lewis, and operated as the Chairman and Managing Director of New Brighton Tramway Company; Charles James Marshall, an estate agent; Captain A.W. Owles, a ship captain; and John Thomson, a traffic manager with the New Brighton Tramway Company.<sup>2</sup> An occupation for Cr. Rowe could not be found.

New Brighton Borough offers an urban setting for this analysis of power, public office and masculinity. The opportunity to take part in local body politics was in many ways limited, as the councillors were not paid. Thus, only those who had time at their disposal were inclined to take part. By taking on public roles, upper-middle class men were able to

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<sup>2</sup> "Sundry Manufacturers," *The Cyclopaedia of New Zealand*, volume three: Christchurch (Christchurch: Cyclopaedia Printing, 1903) 347-48; "Mr James Glanville," *Press* 21 August 1913; "New Brighton," *The Cyclopaedia of New Zealand*, volume three: Christchurch (Christchurch: Cyclopaedia Printing, 1903) 409; "Page's Road," *Press* 31 October 1911; "New Brighton Gala," *Star* 31 January 1908; "A New Brighton Mystery," *Star* 15 July 1902.

enhance their social standing and their power within the community. Bishop was an accountant and commission agent, who eventually succeeded his father as secretary to the Christchurch Gas Company before going on to become its general manager.<sup>3</sup> Within his profession Bishop was one of the founding members of the Incorporated Institute of Accountants of New Zealand.<sup>4</sup> However, Bishop was also actively involved in broader community life and featured in local body politics, was a military volunteer, contributed to local sporting groups, and was a member of the Freemasons.<sup>5</sup> This shaped his image and thus his masculine identity. Whilst the various Mrs Bishops were mentioned as participants in the community events, their roles were portrayed in a secondary position to Mr Bishop.<sup>6</sup> Well regarded in the community, Bishop offers an example of an urban masculine identity. It was shaped by his public image, which relied on offering leadership and support within the New Brighton Borough and more broadly in Christchurch. Carefully posed and positioned, Bishop cemented a publicly-minded masculine image in this photograph.

Moving forward to 1917 and it was war which provided the backdrop to the council portrait. An insert of A.M. Chivers in uniform, highlighted this theme at the top of Figure 1:2. The individual photograph was set against a white oval background in the midst of the heading, and thus the image of Chivers stands out amongst the dull colours of the main portrait. This placement and colour emphasis ensures the viewer acknowledged the presence of the Great War in the council photograph. Again, the mayor is placed central in the image, with the councillors and staff branching out from him. However, Mayor Frederick Kibblewhite

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<sup>3</sup> "Sundry Manufacturers," 347.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid*, 348.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid*, 347-48.

<sup>6</sup> "The Bowling Tournament, Fourth Day," *Star*, 5 February 1897.

Mr Bishop was married three times, first to Elizabeth who he married in 1871 but whom died shortly after his mayoralty began in 1897, then to Annie who he married in 1903 but whom died in 1908, and finally to Louisa in 1911, who was his wife when he died in 1925.





FIGURE 1:2 NEW BRIGHTON BOROUGH COUNCIL, 1917-19, CHRISTCHURCH CITY COUNCIL ARCHIVE

now sat amongst a group, reflecting the change in photograph technology. The photograph was taken by Henry Herbert Clifford, a former employee of well-known Christchurch photography studio Standish and Preece who had set out on his own in 1901.<sup>7</sup> Clifford employed the sepia platinotype process, used widely through to World War One.<sup>8</sup> The platinotype process was introduced in the late 1870s, and used by commercial photogra-

<sup>7</sup> "A New Photographic Studio," *Star* 12 September 1901, 4.

<sup>8</sup> Dusan C. Stulik and Art Kaplan, *Platinotype* (Los Angeles: The Getty Conservation Institute, 2013) 5.



phers for high-end commercial portraiture.<sup>9</sup> In this image, sepia tones add depth whilst the brown border to the photograph reinforces the sombre nature of the image. Coupled with the neutral expressions of the individuals photographed, this image reflected a wartime setting.<sup>10</sup>

The photograph encompassed two lines of people, one sitting and one standing. The men were all wearing three piece suits, and Kibblewhite occupied the centre of the image. He sat with his hands crossed on his lap, shoulders hunched and left leg crossed over his right. The mayoral chain was surreptitiously draped around his neck, only visible on close examination of the image. Tilting his head slightly to the left, Kibblewhite appeared nervous and reserved as he tucks his body in. Visually, the mayor did not represent Phillips' New Zealand hegemonic masculinity. His reserved presence and self-conscious stance suggest he was uncomfortable in the setting. Notably, Kibblewhite has maintained control over how he is presented in the image. This reading of Kibblewhite does acknowledge the agency of the photographer in setting the image and the noted similarities in the stance of the middle three men. However, on close analysis the individuals photographed all present themselves slightly differently. The variations in how the other individuals sit or stand, particularly when looking at the men at the ends of the rows, demonstrate how subtle differences in stance can present the men in contrasting ways. Despite adopting an awkward and somewhat delicate stance in this photograph, Kibblewhite had proved his standing as leader within the New Brighton community by being elected to the mayoralty by a large majority, beating the

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<sup>9</sup> *Ibid*, 9.

<sup>10</sup> The impact of the First World War was pronounced in New Brighton, as it was throughout New Zealand. At a Borough Council meeting on 10 May 1915, the anti-German sentiment was clearly expressed. A motion was moved by Councillor Miller, and carried, to record, "that this Council place on record its protest against Germany's savage and inhuman act in the use of poisonous gases, and the inexcusable murder of over 1500 persons by the sinking of the steamer *Lusitania* near the southern coast of Ireland." ("Resolutions of Local Bodies," *Press* 11 May 1915.) In an election speech during the 1917 mayoral campaign Frederick Kibblewhite highlighted the importance of allocating money to assisting patriotic activities. ("Civic Elections," *Press* 19 April 1917.)

other candidate, William Bellamy, with 832 votes to 455.<sup>11</sup> This helps to further unravel the argument that a masculine stereotype dominated New Zealanders understanding of themselves. The selection of a leader was not based on the presentation of an image which fits with a stereotype of the kiwi bloke; instead there was something else which lifted his popularity.

Another point of interest in Figure 1:2 was the presence of a woman. This is a marked contrast from Figure 1:1, which was exclusively male. However, Miss McCree stood in the back row of the photograph because of her position as the council typist rather than as an elected councillor. Despite being the only one without a jacket, McCree opted for a white blouse and striped scarf sitting in a style reminiscent of the ties the men around her wear. This reinforced the masculine nature of this public setting. Despite Christchurch being the centre of the women's suffrage movement in the 1880s and 1890s, it was only in 1917 that Ada Wells was elected to the Christchurch City Council and became the first woman to do so in the city. The political landscape was still a field where men were seen to be at the forefront.

An emerging diversity was notable more than a decade later in the 1929-31 council portrait (Figure 1:3). Again there was a woman, the council typist Miss D. Gott, included in the photograph. In this portrait, however, there was also racial diversity with the presence of young Maori man Sam Torepe as the assistant town clerk, and Councillor Joseph Ainsworth, a man of Indian ancestry. Torepe and Ainsworth appeared comfortable in the setting, the former prominently alongside Gott, and directly behind Mayor John Shaw, and the latter at the end of the middle row. Despite not being part of the Pakeha majority, these two men did not appear out of place in the photograph. Dressed in the three piece suit which was the

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<sup>11</sup> "Public Notices," *Press* 30 April 1917.



FIGURE 1:3 NEW BRIGHTON BOROUGH COUNCIL, 1929-31, CHRISTCHURCH CITY COUNCIL ARCHIVE

uniform of the upper-middle class man, they both stood with straight backs and relaxed shoulders. The photographer stood directly in front of them and they acknowledge that with their strong stance and deliberate pose. They were aware of the image they were projecting to the camera; it was one of confidence and belonging. Directed into formation, they were still able to shape how they stood in the group. Torepe and Ainsworth presented themselves with formality, but there were some more relaxed poses sneaking into the photograph. Councillor Albert Lawry stood with his hands in his pockets, whilst both town clerk Clarence

Middleton and Councillor George Bishop were casually resting their hands on their laps. The continuous evolution of photograph technology appeared to have helped usher in a few smiles in the group.

The centre of the photograph is dominated by Mayor Shaw who commands the attention of the viewer. While Kibblewhite, with shoulders hunched and arms curled in, was only recognisable by his mayoral chain and even that is almost obscured by his hands, Shaw was the first person one notices when they look at Figure 1:3. The composition of the image placed Shaw at the centre of the group, but separated from the men around him through the spacing of the chairs in the front row. The mayoral chain was carefully placed around his neck and his elbows were rested on the chair arms, which again reinforced the space he had claimed. With shoulders back and a slight smile, Shaw exuded confidence in a marked difference to Kibblewhite. A business owner, with his own butchery, class was again apparent in this image.<sup>12</sup> Clothing situated him and those around him within a societal demographic, and power was garnered by their political involvements. The men of the New Brighton Borough Council presented a masculine identity that was not shaped by rural life. The power they garnered in the community and their status as decision makers moulded how they presented themselves as men.

By the end of 1920s, life in New Brighton Borough had changed considerably. From just 800 residents in 1897, by 1916 there were 2310 people living in the borough and in the next decade that figure almost doubled so that in the 1926 census the total now reached 4485 inhabitants.<sup>13</sup> In a study of masculinity, the focus on local body politics offers an insight into the more detailed aspects which shape the lives of individuals. Whilst central govern-

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<sup>12</sup> "New Brighton Butchery," *Press*, 4 August 1923.

<sup>13</sup> Bruce F. Ferrand, "The Borough of New Brighton: An Experiment in Local Government in the Years 1897-1941," (MA thesis, University of Canterbury, 1951) 56.

ment policy reflects broader society, local government is part of a smaller community. The first council meeting was held in the local school room in February 1897, and the men who sat in that room were dedicated to creating a successful and prosperous borough. Three photographs offer an insight into the changing nature of power during a thirty-five year period. In the changing faces, aspects of gender and race diversity begin to emerge, whilst a consistency remains in the image presented by the men who are elected as representatives of the borough. These men were urban, and their understanding of their masculinity was shaped by their interactions within this setting. Power and class were consistent measures of success, and key to understanding how they saw themselves as men.

## The Buchanan Collection

Two photographs selected from a filing cabinet at Canterbury Museum are at the centre of this discussion. The first, Figure 1:4, was taken in 1907, and no notes exist to explain who the men were. Staring at the camera with neutral expressions outside an unnamed building, the men are gathered in a rough setting with dirt underneath and wooden planks in the foreground and background. The photograph offers no obvious clues of its origins or purpose. Not taken for advertisement or promotion, instead this photograph appears as a record of a time and a place.

It may have hung framed in the boss' office, or been distributed to the men. The name of the building is unnecessary if the faces are familiar as your employees, or the setting is one that has been walked through many times before. More than a century later, the viewer relies on notes scrawled and the careful organisation into a collection. This photograph sat within a photo file, marked as Engineering: General, and is part of the Buchanan Collection, alongside other photographs from the firm. Selected because it is representative of the Buchanan Collection and its reflection of the industrial urban centre of Christchurch, Figure 1:4 introduces ideas of the relationship between class and masculinity within the public sphere.

The setting for Figure 1:4 and 1:5 was the yard of Buchanan's City Foundry, in the industrial heart of Christchurch. They were taken in 1907 and 1924. The firm was established by Robert Buchanan in 1878 and employed journeymen and apprentices to make ornamental iron castings. Robert Buchanan can be identified as the central man in Figure 1:4. To his right sat his son Robert Stanley Hamilton Buchanan, referred to as Stanley, the inheritor of



FIGURE 1:4 R BUCHANAN & SON ENGINEERING STAFF 1907, CANTERBURY MUSEUM (19XX.2.823)

the bulk of the company's shares when his father died.<sup>14</sup> Stanley Buchanan stood on his own in Figure 1:5, separated by physical distance from the men now in his employment.

Three rows of men stare back at the photographer in Figure 1:4, notable for the uniformity of stance, dress and pose. The back line stood, with arms folded across their chests, while the front two lines were seated in various positions including two men on the ground. At the far left of the photograph a man stood next to the row of seated men, adjusting his angle so that his stance was square to the photographer. In the front right of the image, another man elicits attention with his disinterested stare into the distance. His gaze draws the viewer to the left of the frame, suggesting there is something more interesting than the

<sup>14</sup> Will of Robert Buchanan, Probate records 1913 P7901/13-P7919/13, Christchurch Court.

photographer who has placed himself off centre. The young man has clearly been posed, instructed to sit in a similar way to the man next to him. Whilst they both sit with their legs spread to their right, and leaning on their left arm, the two men cut quite different figures. The one closest to the camera was slouched and looking out to the distance, the second man was sitting up straight and altering his posture so that he was looking directly at the camera. The sports team style of the photograph, with its attempt at uniformity and rigour has been disrupted by the individuals who have opted to present themselves differently. From Robert Buchanan in the centre of the photograph, to the edges, there are men who are noticeable due to their differences - a reflection on the contrasting ideas of what masculinity means within a group setting.

The clothing selections of the men in this photograph offer a manifestation of class differences. There are two clear groupings which are defined by the style of work undertaken by the men photographed. In the centre sat Robert and Stanley Buchanan, the business owners, differentiated from the men who are employed as workers. Both men wore three piece suits, and their jackets quickly separate them from the rest of the men in the image. They were also both wearing neck adornments, a fashion accessory which would likely prove a danger to the men who were undertaking the manual labour and working with the iron. All of the men, except Stanley, were wearing hats in this photograph. For the working class men, the uniform consisted of trousers, an open collared shirt, and either a waistcoat or visible suspenders. Most of the men were wearing lighter coloured shirts, with only one man wearing a black shirt. Their clothing options were centred on the practicality of the garment. However, the hat is an interesting consideration. The dominance of the newsboy style flat cap indicates the impact of fashion in the decision making process of the men. They have predominantly chosen to present themselves in a manner which cements their



position as part of the group, a member of a broader class community. Robert, however, has opted for a bowler hat which fits the class status he has presented through the rest of his clothing options. Standing in the row behind him, another man has chosen the same style. This man, whilst otherwise dressed in the more uniform, working class style, has differentiated himself with his hat. The man standing at the far left has also opted for another shape - this time a more wide brimmed option. On first glance, the men in Figure 1:4 presented a uniform picture as they aligned themselves in three, carefully staged lines. However, it is in the different presentations they have opted for that the agency of the men begins to present itself. These men were not all alike and staring at the photographer, they were well aware that their differences were being recorded.

At the core of the group, sat Stanley Buchanan. Aged 24, he occupied a privileged position as the son of the firm's founder and this was reflected in his presentation. Wearing a three piece suit, without a hat, makes him stand out immediately when viewing the photograph. His unique stance, which has him leaning forward, spreading his legs wide and placing his hands firmly on his knees, was also different. This positioning suggests he was marking out his territory, which would have been important as his father aged. Stanley presented himself in a manner which is unlike anyone else in the group. His father leaned back in his seat, with hands softly resting on his lap, whilst most the rest of the group look like they are doing what they have been directed to do. Leaning away from his father, Stanley opened up the suggestion of space around him. He sat in the midst of the group, but separated from them.

Stanley looks different and acted differently to the men who surround him. Whilst his father originated in the working class before taking advantage of social mobility to move into the role of owner, his son had always had his family name on the building of the door.

He embodied discussion about power relationships within the group, and provides an example of class differences. Stanley had a position of power within his father's business, represented by the different manner in which he dressed. As the heir incumbent, his objective was to position himself to be able to step into the ultimate leadership role without problems. He was using power to present himself within the public sphere.

Stanley does not fit the mould presented by Phillips, that of an egalitarian, rural New Zealand masculinity. Stanley is instead drawing masculine strength from his position and power within an urban setting. The crossed-arm pose, so often a feature of team sports photos, was disregarded. In this photograph, he cannot be easily grouped into any previous discussion of masculinity in New Zealand. He is white, upper-middle class, and young. The uniqueness of his stance and his particular style of dress suggest a degree of control over his presentation of self to the camera. He had chosen to portray an image in this photograph, a masculine image centred in power, class and an urban environment.

Transitioning to the year 1924, Figure 1:5 looks familiar to the viewer. The background is the same, though now more can be seen. The clearest indication is the wooden door which was closed in Figure 1:4, providing a simple backdrop, whilst in Figure 1:5 it sat open and comprised a much smaller component of the photograph. Leaving this door open helped the viewer to tie the internal workshop to the external yard. Whilst technical considerations would have likely hindered the ability to photograph the men at work inside, the open door offers a clear link to the workspace. Again, there is no signage to inform the viewer of the setting, instead the knowledge of the audience is assumed. More detail of the



FIGURE 1:5 R BUCHANAN & SON ENGINEERING STAFF 1924, CANTERBURY MUSEUM (19XX.2.5200)

setting was included, notably two large wheels in the bottom right hand corner. Stanley Buchanan, who has by now assumed the mantle of foundry boss, has his right hand resting on one of the wheels. The careful positioning of these props indicates they were likely to have been made by the foundry, though Stanley's suit suggests he was not involved in the manual labour himself. His connection with the wheels, signified by the hand carefully placed, reflected his role in the business. He was the owner, and whilst he may not have personally made the objects it was his name stamped on them.

Stanley's isolation from the group stands out. Returning to the discussion of how class and power shapes masculinity, this separation offers a clear demarcation. Whilst there is an impression of a haphazard arrangement of the employees, sitting on boxes or equipment and standing companionably, Stanley's position and stance were deliberate. There is no indication of a hierarchical nature to the way the employees are positioned and if the

photograph was cropped to exclude Stanley, the viewer could see this as a reinforcement of the egalitarian society Phillips writes about, albeit urban. However, the photograph was carefully framed so that there was a clear contrast. The employees filled two-thirds of the bottom half of the image, with Stanley alone in the other third. Whilst Stanley stood in a way that marked out a larger area as his own, with both arms filling the space around him, the other men leaned in towards each other, and perched together in a close proximity which resulted in arms often touching. The contrasts extended to the clothing the men wear. As in Figure 1:4, Stanley wore a suit with a jacket. His tie sat nestled in a white collar, and his clothing presented a crispness of image. The rest of the men again wore clothing that was primarily chosen for performing the tasks they had ahead. Shirts, with sleeves rolled up and collars open, were worn with trousers held up by suspenders or a belt. Only the man perched at the very front of the group was wearing something around his neck, and he opted for a bright, white tie. It looks out of place amongst the shirts which are dull shades of white, or grey, reflecting the dirty environment in which they are worn.

The importance of class as an instrument of power is clear in these two images. This reflects the broader setting of the photograph - urban Christchurch. Robert and Stanley Buchanan had chosen to present themselves differently within the photographs discussed. The former sat comfortably in the midst of the photograph, seemingly relaxed in his position as both of a working class background and a member of the upper middle class with a business to his name. Robert came to New Zealand from Scotland in 1870 aboard the clipper *Merope* to work for John Anderson, who had established the Canterbury Foundry.<sup>15</sup> In 1878, Buchanan, as a craft worker, undertook the transition from 'man' to 'master' with the estab-

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<sup>15</sup> "Obituary," *Press* 21 April 1913.

lishment of his own business, a transition which James Belich has spoken about.<sup>16</sup> Belich argued that, “craft actually cut across class, linking middle-class ‘masters’ - artisans who had acquired their own business - to the working class journeymen and apprentices they employed. ‘Master and ‘man’ worked together and included each other in their imagined communities.”<sup>17</sup> Robert was proud of his ability as an iron founder and was regarded as capable of doing almost any job required of the trade.<sup>18</sup> His identity was shaped by his class background. In regards to the masculine image Robert presented in Figure 1:4, it is notable that he was relaxed in his formal clothes in the dirty setting. The ability to move between class groups was reflected in the masculinity he portrays.

In contrast, Stanley Buchanan has not been shaped by class mobility. Whilst earlier photographs from the collection show that he had worked alongside the men, his later separation when he takes on the mantle of boss, suggests he saw himself as different. The Buchanan name can still be seen on the St Asaph Street building in 2014, and this would have impacted his early career. For Stanley, what it meant to be a man was shaped by his reaction to the inherent manliness that surrounded him at work. Whilst his father was comfortable amongst the men and sat relaxed in his seat, Stanley distanced himself - even when he was surrounded he was able to carve out an independent space. For Stanley, masculine identity was inherently linked to his status and the implied power. He did not attempt to belong to the broader collective to gain acceptance, instead he sat apart.

The Buchanan’s sit within a bigger Christchurch discussion of urban development. The Foundry was part of the burgeoning development of secondary-industries that gained

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<sup>16</sup> James Belich, *Paradise Reforged* (Auckland: Allen Lane, 2001) 134-35.

<sup>17</sup> Belich, 134.

<sup>18</sup> M. Mosley, *Illustrated Guide to Christchurch and Neighbourhood* (Christchurch: J.T. Smith and Co., 1885) 177.

strength at the end of the nineteenth century.<sup>19</sup> Whilst some businesses grew and proceeded to expand into the export market, many workshops were set up by early settlers as family businesses and did not grow much larger.<sup>20</sup> The City Foundry, with its focus on ornamental castings for builders, was representative of the growth of the wider city. This is supported by Trevor Burnard who used Lionel Frost's theoretical model of the 'commercial' city to help explain the development of Christchurch as "An Artisanal Town."<sup>21</sup> It centred on the growth of an affluent urban population, with a prosperous agricultural region. Burnard argued that, "a commercial city was, in effect, a rather large service centre. Most importantly, it grew under its own steam, with its residents being the principal motor of growth."<sup>22</sup> This idea flourished in Christchurch, with growth fuelled by the increasing numbers of people who opted to call it home.

Reading masculinity in the photographs of Buchanan's Iron Foundry highlights the importance of class. Men were grouped by the visual clues which signified how they fitted into the broader society and the public sphere. The clothing of the men is the clearest indicator of difference, and in the discussion of contrasts it is the most apparent. Robert and Stanley were separated from the group by the clothing options, and their masculine identity was shaped by this difference. Alongside this, the use of physical space reinforced this difference. Stanley, who had been shaped by his understanding of his own social class, created his own space. He moved away from his father physically, and then ensures that objects

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<sup>19</sup> Geoff W. Rice, *Christchurch Changing: An Illustrated History* (Christchurch: Canterbury University Press, 1999) 49.

<sup>20</sup> Rice, 49; Katie Pickles, "Workers and Workplaces - Industry and Modernity," in *Southern Capital: Christchurch Towards a City Biography 1850-2000* ed. John Cookson and Graeme Dunstall (Christchurch: Canterbury University Press, 2000) 142.

<sup>21</sup> Trevor Burnard, "An Artisanal Town - The Economic Sinews of Christchurch," in *Southern Capital: Christchurch Towards a City Biography 1850-2000* ed. John Cookson and Graeme Dunstall (Christchurch: Canterbury University Press, 2000) 127-29.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid*, 128.

separated him from the group in Figure 1:5. An egalitarian society does not exist in early twentieth century Christchurch. For the men who live and work in the city, their understanding of who they are as men is intrinsically shaped by their status in society.

## Fire Brigade

In a series of four photographs taken from around 1900, J N Taylor captured an idealised urban masculinity as portrayed by the Christchurch Fire Brigade. Selected from the J N Taylor Collection at the Canterbury Museum, these photographs are carefully staged to highlight the bravery, uniformity and strength of the men. What they also show is a hierarchical nature and how the urban setting has shaped the masculine identity of the firemen.

John Nelson Taylor was a Scottish immigrant who came to New Zealand sometime before 1890 with his wife Grace and their children. One of their children, William, later established himself as a keen amateur photographer and is well known for his work documenting and writing about Maori and European settlement in the South Island.<sup>23</sup> Tracing John Taylor's time in New Zealand is challenging, as he appears to have travelled around. The first record of his name in the voting records is in Dunedin in 1890, where his occupation is listed as lithographer.<sup>24</sup> A selection of photographs taken on the West Coast and in the Arthur's Pass region in the mid-1890s shows he spent some time in this area, and there is a large selection of photographs which have been taken in Christchurch around 1900.<sup>25</sup> However, his name is not found on the voting register again until 1905-06, where he and Grace are listed as living in Wellington.<sup>26</sup> From 1908, Taylor operated out of Christchurch with a premise at 10 Durham Street where he sold photographic supplies.<sup>27</sup> That same year, just six days before Christmas, Grace died. He remarried on 9 January 1911 to Jane Martha

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<sup>23</sup> William Anderson Taylor wrote extensively on local history. His works include: W.A. Taylor, *Banks Peninsula: Picturesque and Historic* (Christchurch: Bascands, 1937); W.A. Taylor, *Lore and History of the South Island Maori* (Christchurch: Bascands, 1952); W.A. Taylor, *Maori Art* (Leeston: Ellesmere Guardian, 1946); W.A. Taylor, *Photographers and moa hunters* (Leeston: Ellesmere Guardian, 1949); and W.A. Taylor, *Waihora: Maori associations with Lake Ellesmere* (Leeston: Ellesmere Guardian, 1944).

<sup>24</sup> *New Zealand Electoral Roll* Dunedin, Otago, 1890, 118.

<sup>25</sup> J.N. Taylor Collection, Canterbury Museum, accessed 21 June, 2013.

<sup>26</sup> *New Zealand Electoral Roll* Wellington North, Wellington, 1905-06, 107.

<sup>27</sup> "Today's Advertisements," *Star* 17 October 1908, 7.



Mary Barnett, and appears to have stayed in Christchurch till his death on 12 December 1927 following which he was buried in Bromley Cemetery.<sup>28</sup>

The J N Taylor collection is broad in its coverage of life in Christchurch and the South Island. The four images selected were chosen due to their masculine subject matter, but there were few identifying comments noted on the photographs themselves. The photographs appear to be dated in the early years of 1900, probably prior to the Taylors' move to Wellington. Central to two images (Figure 1:6 and Figure 1:9) was the "Vulcan", a twenty metre fire escape ladder designed by Christchurch firm P.M. Johnston and Son and completed in August 1896.<sup>29</sup> All of the appliances pictured were hand or horse drawn, suggesting they predate the motor appliances which began to be purchased in Christchurch from 1906. Dating these images at the turn of the twentieth century also sits well with the dates of other photographs taken by Taylor in Christchurch.

The use of viewers within the frame is an interesting compositional technique that Taylor has used (Figure 1:8 and 1:9). This is best represented in Figure 1:9, where a young boy gazes up at the city scene in front of him, with hands clasped behind his back. He had bare feet, with shorts and a long jumper on, and stood on the footpath a safe distance from the commotion. There were four ladders in use, with firemen swarming over them. His attention appeared to be drawn to a man leaning out a second story window. Other men were standing at various heights on the ladder, or were standing with the appliances at the ground level. On either side of the image there were men watching the same scene. Standing to the left of the frame was another fireman, with his helmet clearly signalling who he was to the brigade. At his feet were hoses and he was carefully watching the action unfold.

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<sup>28</sup> Christchurch City Council Cemeteries Database, <http://heritage.christchurchcitylibraries.com/Cemeteries/> accessed 24 September 2013.

<sup>29</sup> "Christchurch Fire Brigade," *Star* 18 September 1896.



FIGURE 1:6 FIREMEN OUTSIDE CHRISTCHURCH BUILDING, CRANMER BUILDING, J N TAYLOR COLLECTION  
CANTERBURY MUSEUM (1960.137.3)

His position next to the critical equipment suggests he was important to the operation and his placement allowed him to oversee the activity. At the far right of the image was a man who in many ways echoed the young boy's stance. His hands were out of sight, but his shoulders were relaxed and his gaze was taking in the scene, perhaps reliving a childhood enthusiasm for 'manly pursuits'. Within this image, it was the masculine world which was explored. Idealised masculinity, filled with strong, brave men, was being viewed by young and old male eyes, and captured in the work of a male photographer.

The firemen were photographed in action, and only the man at the centre of the image turned around to look at the photographer. Whilst the apparent lack of fire suggests

this was most likely a photograph of a training exercise, there is a sense that this is capturing a 'reality' of the work. By not carefully posing the men, but instead capturing them unobserved from the side lines, it was the photographer that began to shape the meaning of the image - more so than the subjects of the photograph themselves. The use of men as subject, viewer and photographer helps to reinforce the masculine nature of the image. It suggests a conscious framing of the men in action as brave and important enough to draw curious on-lookers. The three observers within the photograph all offered different views of the action, through their ages and their knowledge of what is happening. However, an idealised masculinity is reinforced by these three observers who respectfully observe the scene with a curious gaze. This idea was echoed by Robyn Cooper in 1995, and she argued that, "the fireman was the supreme model of the late 19th- and early 20th-century manhood because of the nature of his work and his public visibility."<sup>30</sup> Manliness was reinforced through the public viewing of the men's work.

Central to this representation of idealised masculinity was the bravery of the men. In Figures 1:6, Figure 1:8 and Figure 1:9, there were men who were putting themselves in danger. Figure 1:6 and Figure 1:9 both look at men who climbed to the top of the twenty metre high "Vulcan". Whilst in Figure 1:9 the focus was on demonstrating the effectiveness of the ladder as a firefighting tool alongside other ladders, Figure 1:6 isolated the Vulcan. There were only nine men in Figure 1:6, four of whom were scaling the ladder. The setting of the photograph, with houses and power lines in the background, reinforced the ladder's height. This was clearly a deliberate move by the photographer, with the setting the same street as Figure 1:9 with the tram tracks in the foreground and the same church spires in the background. However, he has opted to not place the ladder next to the taller building. It stood

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<sup>30</sup> Robyn Cooper, "The Fireman: Immaculate Manhood," *The Journal of Popular Culture* 28:4 (1995) 141.



FIGURE 1:7 FIREMEN POSE ON LONG FIRE LADDER, J N TAYLOR COLLECTION CANTERBURY MUSEUM (1960.137.1)

alone, and looked taller with the houses and trees for comparison. Therefore, the men who have scaled it look particularly brave. Contrasting again with Figure 1:9, this photograph is

more clearly staged. Most of the men appear conscious of the photographer, either looking at him or at least posing. In particular, attention is drawn to the fireman second from the top who was standing with his hand on his hip and looking out across the city. Despite the height and risk of falling, he was confident and sought to portray himself as being comfortable with the danger. This relaxed stance was echoed by all of the men on the ladder, except for the man at the very top. That this particular photograph has been kept by Taylor and stayed within his collection at the museum is interesting because of this nervous man at the top. What is not apparent is whether he is still climbing or finding his footing at this height. It is quite possible that a few seconds later he took on the pose of the man below him, and turned his gaze outwards. However, in the moment of the photograph he was turned towards the ladder and has closed the distance between himself and the apparatus. There was a sense of vulnerability and fear that was presented in this action. The presence of this scared man at the top of the frame reinforced the idealised masculinity shown by the man below him. Similar to the viewers seen in Figure 1:9, this use of contrast draws the audience's attention to the bravery on show.

The urban setting of the J N Taylor Collection is even more focused in Figure 1:8, with Morten's Building providing the backdrop for the fire brigade exercise. Demonstrating escape by canvas chute from the fourth floor window, there is repetition of the ideas of bravery shaping this idealised urban masculinity. Again this was witnessed, with another young boy quietly watching the action from the footpath. These central ideas are reinforced throughout the J N Taylor Collection, with the men in dangerous situations against an urban backdrop. In Figure 1:8, the city Christchurch is clearly removed from the rural setting of Phillip's stereotype of masculinity. In the bottom left hand corner there was a street light, which sat outside of specialty stores in the form of a fruit mart and stationer. The large

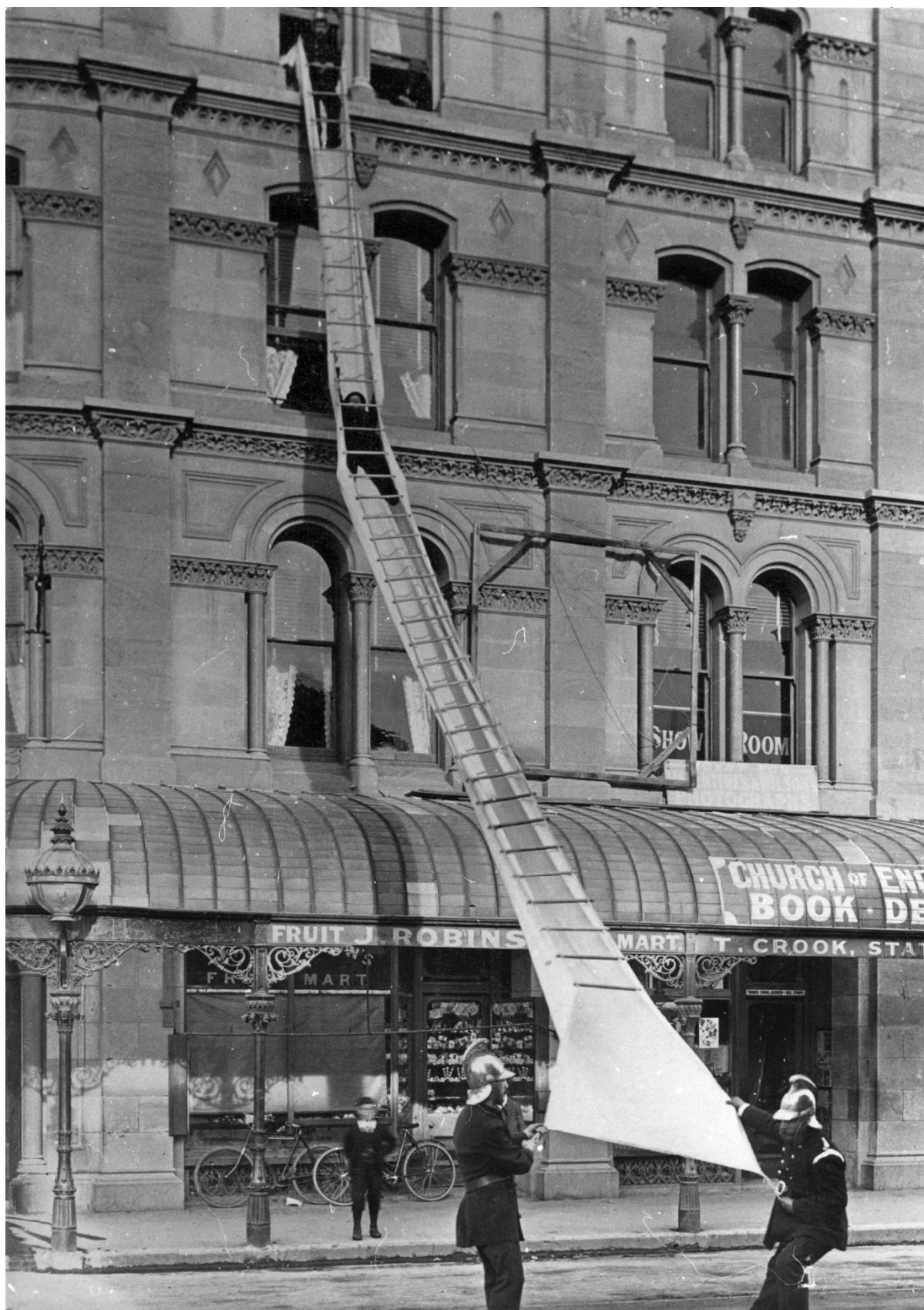


FIGURE 1:8 FIRE MEN TESTING OUT SLIDE FROM THIRD STORY BUILDING, CORNER OF CASHEL AND MANCHESTER STREETS, J N TAYLOR COLLECTION (19XX.2.3229)

building and paved footpath all reinforced the urbanness of the environment. Due to this setting, the fire brigade needed to employ methods which matched the terrain - the canvas chute would be unnecessary in rural Canterbury with its lack of tall buildings. Thus the bravery on display was uniquely urban. The photograph does not show what is at the bottom of the chute to break the fall of firemen sliding down, but the action clearly risks injury if not safely executed. From the footpath, a young boy has opted for the hands clasped behind the back pose that was seen in Figure 1:9. He is slightly out of focus, but appears to be dressed more formally and was wearing shoes and long pants. Observing the action, Taylor has again reinforced the idea that masculinity is shaped through the viewer. Clearly intrigued by what was playing out in front of him, the boy offers the audience a point of reference and a suggestion of how appreciation can be shown for the action of the firemen.

This reinforcement of bravery within the photographs reflects broader discussion in the community. David Sykes wrote a letter to the editor of the *Press* on 2 January 1904, heaping praise on the fire brigade by proclaiming that:

It was only those who saw the brave fellows fighting the flames with buckets and hatchets, after their chemicals were exhausted, who could realise the marvellous work they accomplished. I doubt any Fire Brigade in the world could have excelled the work Superintendent Smith and his men did on New Year morning.<sup>31</sup>

Overall, the firemen usually made it out of the danger unscathed. Ernest Denis Hoben wrote in 1914 that records showed thirteen people had been burned to death in Christchurch, and two killed en route to call-outs.<sup>32</sup> In 1883, assistant engineer A.W. Hillier died after falling from the engine 'Extinguisher' as it raced to what eventuated to be a false alarm.<sup>33</sup> It took until 1901 for another death to be recorded, that of fireman Benjamin Berry who slipped

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<sup>31</sup> "The Fire at Spreydon Church," *Press* 4 January 1904.

<sup>32</sup> Ernest Denis Hoben, *Christchurch: Fair Tree-set "City of the Plains. Being Some Account of the Public and Municipal Institutions* (Christchurch: Christchurch Press Co., 1914) 88.

<sup>33</sup> "Death of Fireman Hillier: A Melancholy Occurrence," *Star* 1 August 1883.

trying to board the moving 'Deluge' on its way to a fire, falling under the back wheel.<sup>34</sup>

In contrast to the previous images discussed, Figure 1:7 was a more sedate photograph. Holding their pose, five men sat aboard what appears to be the chemical engine 'Beltana'. Despite the staged nature of the photograph, one can see the importance of the collective in the image. Each man had a role to play, and it was dependent on them working together for them to be successful. These are not men who are seen as man alone; instead the importance of operating as a cohesive unit is reinforced through the group photographs. In all of the images discussed, it is clear that the men rely on each other to perform their roles. As previously mentioned, the engines had their own dangers, with two men dying from falls. Within this discussion of masculinity, there are several aspects of this photograph to reflect on. Firstly, the prevalence of men in the photo - this is a strictly masculine space. Within the setting of the Fire Brigade, there was no space for women - except as the victims to be rescued.<sup>35</sup> In Christchurch, this was pronounced and from 1895 single men began to sleep at the station.<sup>36</sup> However, the caretaker's wife, tasked with manning the phone, ensuring there was one woman in this masculine space.<sup>37</sup> Secondly, this photograph demonstrates the importance of the uniform to the firefighters. The men pictured were wearing their uniforms with care, demonstrating the importance of rank, and their respect for the roles they have undertaken. The use of the uniform demonstrates both the importance of the collective, as well as the hierarchy of the institution.

The uniform was one of the first big expenses of the newly formed Fire Brigade in 1860, and within a year of being established the men were outfitted in an appropriate

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<sup>34</sup> "The Inquest," *Star* 18 February 1901.

<sup>35</sup> See, "The Fire Brigades," *Star* 15 March 1892.

<sup>36</sup> "Christchurch Fire Brigade," *Press* 16 March 1896.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*





FIGURE 1:9 FIRE BRIGADE ON HORSE DRAWN CARRIAGE, J N TAYLOR COLLECTION CANTERBURY MUSEUM (1960.137.2)

uniform.<sup>38</sup> Disrespect of the Fire Brigade uniform caused anguish for one writer at the *Star* during the 1901 Fire Brigades' Demonstration.<sup>39</sup> Lamenting the inability of the 'vast majority' to wear their uniforms correctly, a plea was issued by the author that the firemen look to the military origins of the uniform. The paper wrote that, "but in place of the neat tunic which should have been the complement of this there appeared a grey tweed coat, about as foreign to the uniform of the officer's brigade as would have been pyjama. And this was no solitary instance, for ever since the visitors arrived dozens and dozens of men have lounged about the streets attired half in uniform and half in mufti."<sup>40</sup> Thus, the uniform was an ob-

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<sup>38</sup> Tony Phillips, 8.

<sup>39</sup> "Firemen's Uniform," *Star* 1 March 1901.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*

ject that highlighted the role of the individual in the wider society. When treated with disrespect, it was seen as an insult to the broader workings of society and the institutions supported. In reflecting on policemen in London, Haia Shpayer-Makov wrote that, “The uniform conferred power and authority on the bearer and served to enhance his standing as representing the patriarchal state.”<sup>41</sup> It was seen as crucial to the prevention and deterrence of crime by the founders of the modern English police.<sup>42</sup> Therefore the uniform could carry great power.

Historian Tony Phillips claimed that the origins of the Christchurch Fire Brigade were to a time when Christchurch was the home of little more than 1400 people, and the risk of fire was pronounced amongst the predominantly wooden houses, with dirt roads and a lack of amenities such as street lighting, sewerage or drainage systems. In the search for water, there were only the options of the Avon River or local creeks.<sup>43</sup> The Christchurch Volunteer Fire Brigade was founded on November 7, 1860 with an engine donated by the Liverpool and London Insurance Company.<sup>44</sup> Expansion of the fire brigade continued alongside the population growth of the city and in 1907, the newly established Christchurch Fire Board took responsibility for the fire brigade and made several important decisions about the future.<sup>45</sup> Firstly, the city opted for two fire stations with Lichfield Street operating as the central station, and Chester Street as a secondary operation. Secondly, the fire brigade moved towards professionalization of the force, with a deputy superintendent, senior foreman, junior foreman, and eight firefighters being appointed as permanent staff. As well as this,

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<sup>41</sup> Shpayer-Makov, “Shedding the uniform and acquiring a new masculine image: The case of the late-Victorian and Edwardian English police detective,” in *A History of Police and Masculinities, 1700-2010* eds. David G. Barrie and Susan Broomhall (New York: Routledge, 2012) 141-42.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid*, 141.

<sup>43</sup> Tony Phillips, 7.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid*, 7.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid*, 27.

twenty-nine volunteers would continue to serve. Finally, the fire brigade would begin to phase out the use of horses to draw carts, instead looking for motorised appliances.<sup>46</sup> By 1910, the Board had acquired four motorised machines and the transition into a new era of firefighting was underway.

Central themes tie this collection together, as Taylor portrayed the fire brigade as brave men, who operated together in an urban setting with a uniform that identified and united them. This reinforces an idealised masculinity, which was acted out in the public setting. Taylor's use of viewers within the photographs suggests that masculinity was shaped by external setting. The development of Christchurch into a city relied upon being able to offer protection to the residents from risks such as fire. Fulfilling this need, the firemen represented an essential masculine identity.

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<sup>46</sup> Tony Phillips, 29.

## Conclusion

The construction of masculinity outside of the home was shaped by the relationships between men. This chapter has highlighted three significant sites, using photographs to examine how men presented themselves and were viewed by others. It is through the interaction of men with other men, with the photographer, and with the broader audience, that an understanding of the importance of relationships to masculine identity is portrayed.

Clothing, stance, and composition all help to demonstrate how this has been understood by the men discussed in this chapter. Ideas of power and class sat alongside physical strength and manliness in men's presentation of themselves in the public sphere. With an awareness of the camera, men sat alongside other men, constructing their masculine identity for prosperity. They did this in a manner that highlighted the urban influence on ideas of manliness.

The importance of interactions between men was highlighted throughout this chapter. Stanley Buchanan vividly demonstrated this by using stance and clothing to separate him from the other men in the photographs. His identity was not shaped by fitting an egalitarian mould of masculinity, instead he opted to set himself apart and use ideas of power and class to define himself.

Meanwhile, the New Brighton Borough Council provided examples of how different men presented themselves, and how this impacted their presentation of power. This is most marked by the different stances used by two of the mayors, Frederick Kibblewhite and John Shaw. Occupying the same position, their demeanours are notably different, with Kibblewhite meekly folded into this seat, while Shaw dominates the photograph. These two men

demonstrate how differing presentations of what power means to men. There is a reinforcement of difference through these photographs.

Alongside this, the relationship between the firemen, the male viewers within the frame and the male photographer highlighted how masculine identity can be created in concert. All of the individuals involved worked together to present an image. What this demonstrated was how an idealised nature of masculinity can be shaped through these relationships.

Finally, this chapter reinforces the importance of setting to masculine identity. This is demonstrated by how men highlight different attributes in relation to where they are. The New Brighton Borough councillors are dressed in three piece suits and comfortable in front of the camera. It is their power and their status which shapes how they present themselves as men. Contrastingly, the workers of the foundry have their sleeves rolled up and are thus tied to the dirty setting of an industrial urban setting. They are not clearly demarcated into a hierarchical set up; instead they are presented as a complete unit. Masculinity is shaped at the foundry in different ways, through the power of the owner and the physicality of the men. Meanwhile, in the city streets of Christchurch, the fire brigade demonstrate their manliness through bravery and strength - enticingly observed by passers-by. This 'traditional' masculine expression is different in the New Zealand context, due to its expression of these attributes in an urban setting.

The public sphere was the setting for politics and commerce. It has often been connected with men and masculinity. Yet even in this well explored setting, masculine identity is not dominated by stereotype, and it is certainly not homogenous. Across the city, men presented themselves in different ways, all shaping their own masculine identity.

# The Private Sphere

## Chapter Two

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### Introduction

Christchurch's city streets offered a backdrop for public displays of masculinity at the turn of the twentieth century. The last chapter showed how men portrayed themselves, particularly in relation to other men, through the use of clothing, stance and composition, to demonstrate the importance of ideas such as power and manliness. This thesis argues that urban masculinity is distinct to the pastoral presentation offered by Jock Phillips and reinforced in popular culture. An important setting to examine this is in the private realm of the home and family.

The private sphere was commonly associated with the feminine. It was portrayed as the setting for women and children, separated from the public sphere of politics and commerce. Situated within this sphere were the home, family and unpaid domestic labours. The study of the private, therefore, has predominantly been centred on the lives of women. Disconnect between the discussions of New Zealand men and of the home makes this an intriguing site for a thesis which explores masculinity. Jock Phillips argued that, from the 1880s, the idealised family unit was one ruled over by a mother and wife.<sup>1</sup> This reinforcement of the home as feminine was troubling, according to Phillips, and, "fences of sexual segrega-

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<sup>1</sup> Jock Phillips, *A Man's Country? The Image of the Pakeha Male - A History* Second Edition (Auckland: Penguin, 1996) 222.

tion were erected at home.”<sup>2</sup> Situating men on the periphery of the home is a limiting view as men were engaged in domestic pursuits, and often moved seamlessly between the two spheres. In photography, the under-examined idea of the convergence of masculinity and domesticity can be brought into the light.

Three collections will be used in this chapter, and they were accessed through Canterbury Museum, and Louise Jensen’s private collection. Again, the emphasis was on highlighting the complexity of masculine identity. To this end, the collections were chosen to offer examples of an elite family, middle class masculinity and the importance of the ritual of the wedding portrait. One of the challenges of working with family collections is their inaccessibility. To this end, the Wilding Family was chosen due to the large selection of photographs available at Canterbury Museum. Bound in large photograph albums, and also stored loosely in folders, the focus for analysis selection was on images of this elite family’s patriarch, Frederick Wilding. Alongside this, Louise Jensen’s personal collection was reviewed as it offered an example of middle class masculinity. A photograph of my great, great uncle William Hickley Gundry, who was born in Lyttelton in 1852, was used for this thesis. The final collection is that of photographer Charles Beken’s wedding portraits. These were stored in Canterbury Museum’s copy print folders, and the two photographs included in this thesis were selected from a much larger assortment. Due to earthquake damage the stored collection could not be accessed, but the two photographs chosen were noted due to both the similarities to the others in the folder, as well as the added information noted on the reverse of the photographs themselves. This allowed a more detailed discussion, using other sources to add to the understanding of the photographs.

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<sup>2</sup> Phillips, 243.

This chapter again moves through three significant settings, reading photographs and offering suggestions on how Christchurch men's masculinity was shaped by their involvement in the private sphere. From the Wilding family estate on Opawa, to the suburban home and the wedding ritual, men are shown in interaction with the private sphere. What emerges is the contrasting reality of men's lived experiences. The hands-on father, a man on the periphery, and a new groom, all demonstrate the discrepancies of the masculine stereotype.



## The Wilding Collection

The heavy photograph albums of the Wilding family offer an insight into the private world of one of Christchurch's elite families. Canterbury Museum holds an array of documents relating to the family, including the albums and other folders of photographs. As objects, the albums offer an insight into the meaning that was claimed by the family themselves. Old and fragile despite their hard covers, they are now handled with care by those who view them. Once they were simply a place where memories were stored, perhaps organised by Julia Wilding who so precisely recorded details of her children's lives. In the pages, a highlights reel is preserved. Family gatherings and special moments are captured with a photograph. More than a century later, the images still exist although the personal memories which contextualised their existence have been lost. Through the extraction of photographs from these albums, their meaning begins to change. This is apparent with the folders, which contain sheets of paper with photographs attached, images mounted on cardboard, and loose photographs. Collated by the museum, they are contextualised by the photographs they have been grouped with. Most frequently in front of the camera is tennis star Anthony Wilding, though most of the photographs of him record matches abroad and travels around Europe. The selection of the three photographs for this analysis centred on the subjects of the photograph, and the setting. The images discussed feature male family members and were taken at the family home 'Fownhope' in Opawa, Christchurch.

In Figure 2:1 a young Anthony sat atop a penny farthing with his father Frederick holding him steady. Little more than a toddler, Anthony would need much longer legs to be able to propel himself forward on the bike, but his father stands at his side in support. Neither father nor son looked at the camera, with Anthony clearly intrigued by something in



FIGURE 2:1 FREDERICK WILDING WITH SON ANTHONY SITTING PENNY FARTHING BIKE, WILDING COLLECTION CANTERBURY MUSEUM (1989.147.389)

the distance. He stared with a suspicious look on his face, not quite sure of what was happening. However, he was unperturbed by the height, with just a light grip on the handlebars. Frederick appears to be looking at his son, though his gaze is difficult to read. Both of Frederick's hands were holding the bicycle upright, though only his left hand is visible as it holds the handlebar. His stance was relaxed with his feet apart and slightly turned out. The woollen hat and the coats both are wearing suggest the setting was cold, though young Anthony's bare leg was visible above his socks.

As a standalone photograph, the image of Frederick and Anthony offers insights into the role Frederick played as a father. He was a feature in Anthony's life, as he was in the lives of all of his children. Further reading portrayed a man who encouraged and supported the sporting development of his children in particular. Frederick often played alongside his son as a doubles partner, and provided financial and technical support to his flourishing tennis career.<sup>3</sup> Biographers Len and Shelley Richardson wrote that, "Frederick taught Anthony and Gladys how to skip, throw and catch balls, play with hoops, walk on stilts, do a somersault and, later, how to rollerskate, ride a bike and row a boat."<sup>4</sup> A representative sportsman at domestic and international level, the success of his children - and particularly his son Anthony - in the realm of sport would have brought great joy. Frederick's role as Anthony's coach in his early years was well publicised and noted in reports of tennis exploits. In an interview prior to his rise to Wimbledon fame, Anthony emphasised the importance of

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<sup>3</sup> There are several studies on the Wilding family that offer further insight into their lives. These predominantly focus on Julia and two of her children, Anthony and Cora. For further reading: A. Wallis Myers, *Captain Anthony Wilding* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1916); Susan Wilson, "The aims and ideology of Cora Wilding and the Sunlight League, 1930-36," (MA Thesis, University of Canterbury, 1980); Shelley Richardson, "Striving After Better Things: Julia Wilding and the making of a 'New Woman' and a 'Noble Gentleman'" (MA thesis, University of Canterbury, 1997); Elizabeth Matthews, *Cora: A Wilding Seed* (Cheviot: Lynx Books, 1999); Nadia Gush, "Beauty of Health: Cora Wilding and the Sunlight League," (MA Thesis, University of Canterbury, 2003); Len and Shelley Richardson, *Anthony Wilding: A Sporting Life* (Christchurch: Canterbury University Press, 2005).

<sup>4</sup> Len and Shelley Richardson, *Anthony Wilding: A Sporting Life* (Christchurch: Canterbury University Press, 2005), 21.

his father's support.<sup>5</sup> Frederick's role as an involved father fits John Tosh's discussion of the father and child relationship of nineteenth century England.<sup>6</sup> Tosh argued that not only were children important to Victorian fathers at an emotional level, they also offered fulfilment of a crucial component of adult masculinity.<sup>7</sup>

Both Figure 2:2 and Figure 2:3 feature Frederick again, in thesis photographs as part of larger gatherings. A family photograph (Figure 2:2) from about 1900 situated Frederick in the middle of the family. Everyone was dressed elegantly, clearly posed for a formal portrait, and thus the photograph reflected the place of the Wilding family within the broader class structure of Christchurch. However, despite the formality there are still insights into the family's relationships. With hands on his lap in the familiar pose of many a sports team photograph, Frederick was surrounded by his children. His two eldest two children, Anthony and Gladys, stood behind him in a formal pose, while his youngest was draped upon his left arm. The rigid stances of Anthony and Gladys shows an awareness of how they were presenting themselves as they carefully eye the photographer. Conscious of their class in the spacious setting of their home, both had already achieved success in their respective endeavours. After Anthony was killed in action in France, he was celebrated as the ideal of New Zealand masculinity. The *Press* newspaper proclaimed that:

he was the beau ideal of what a young New Zealander ought to be - ever keeping himself physically fit by temperance and exercise, sunny in disposition, tenacious in striving after the goal he had set before himself, not cast down by a temporary defeat, and above all unspoiled by success.<sup>8</sup>

In this photograph, taken before his Wimbledon successes and his subsequent enlistment in

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<sup>5</sup> "The Lawn Tennis Champion: Interview with Mr Anthony Wilding," *Star* 22 December 1908.

<sup>6</sup> John Tosh, *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the middle-class home in Victorian England* (New York: Yale University Press, 1999) 79-101.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid*, 101.

<sup>8</sup> "Anthony Wilding," *Press* 13 May 1916.



FIGURE 2:2 WILDING FAMILY, WILDING COLLECTION CANTERBURY MUSEUM (1989.147.183)

the war effort, it is clear the Anthony understood the importance of formal presentation.

Meanwhile, despite his attention being focused on the photographer as well, Frederick appeared unperturbed by his youngest son's stance. Whilst Edwyn was leaning towards his mother, he had his left arm resting on his father's arm. The informality of this interaction is notable as it contrasts to those around him. Captivating Julia's attention, Edwyn exemplified the relationship between the Wilding children and their parents. He was aware that the camera was in front of him and he smiled happily for the photographer. However, he was comfortable around both of his parents and this reinforced the family closeness. Whilst Frederick was not looking at his son, there was a physical engagement between the two of them. In the front row, Frank and Cora had been directed to sit on a picnic

mat. Their stances were similar to those of the elder siblings, in that both Frank and Anthony had their hands clasped, while Cora and Gladys had their arms to the side. The two sisters each had a hat, though Cora's was resting on her dress instead of her head. Frank was looking directly at the camera, while his sister's attention was off to the side. The family had been carefully framed by the photographer, demonstrating civilisation in the natural setting. There was an awareness of the proper presentation of self as part of an elite class within Christchurch. However, through the relationship of young Edwyn and his parents, the viewer gains an important insight into the inner workings of the Wilding family. Both Frederick and Julia were available for Edwyn to lean on; they are parents who were actively involved in teaching their children.

An apparently informal Sunday afternoon of tennis was recorded by the Wilding family in 1902 (Figure 2:3). Julia, Gladys, Cora, Frank and Frederick sat amongst Fownhope guests, this time with a suggestion of a tamed garden in the background. A tennis racket sat in front of Frederick, who was dressed in the appropriate sporting attire, with his legs crossed on a blanket. The dress of the group varied, with the ladies all donning hats, yet several of the men - including Frederick - had opted to keep their shirts unbuttoned and tieless. The poses of the individuals were relaxed, with young Cora leaning against her mother's lap in a fashion which demonstrated the intimate nature of their relationship. In the middle of the frame, Frank grinned for the camera. The less formal setting of the image offered increased agency for the individuals in the photograph. Whilst the participants may have been carefully positioned, they demonstrated little concern for how they are to be recorded - this was not an image to present to the world, but one which highlights the nature of the family photograph. It was the recording of familiar faces, carefully placed in the family photograph album to prompt recollections and stories of a shared history.



FIGURE 2:3 MEN AND WOMEN WITH TENNIS RACKET IN FOREGROUND, WILDING COLLECTION CANTERBURY MUSEUM (1989.147.387)

Across the three photographs Frederick Wilding's presence is a constant. The images selected for this study are reflective of the broader Wilding Collection, with Frederick often present in family photographs. His story has regularly been overlooked in the array of material presented by those who have studied his family. What is known of the inner workings of the Wildings has predominantly grown out of the diaries kept by the women of the family. However, when Frederick's contribution to the private life of the family is mentioned, it is always about the important role he played. Julia recorded examples of Frederick's involvement in daily child care duties, such as tending to injuries and illness, and his place as a decision maker alongside herself for future plans.<sup>9</sup> This differs from John R. Gillis 1996 argument

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<sup>9</sup> Richardson, 180-89.

that fathers sit on the threshold of family life in 'our symbolic universe'.<sup>10</sup> He argued that, "perceived as liminal figures, fathers sometimes appear threatening, but usually they are just out of place, rather ridiculous in the domestic setting."<sup>11</sup> This is a simplified view of the past that does not fit with the representation of Frederick's life.

The Wilding family is an important part of the history of Christchurch. The stories of various family members have been gathered, studied and examined. That they were wealthy is clearly apparent, with the comfortable home and the means to support their children in their education and travel abroad. Shelley Richardson, in her study of Julia Wilding as a progressive mother, explained that the Wilding's migration to New Zealand did not have a significant impact on their social rank or material circumstance.<sup>12</sup> When Frederick died, he left £29,400, most of which was placed in a trust for his grandchildren.<sup>13</sup> Richardson argued that Julia sought to further enduring social progress by her devotion to her family and children, that, "by her definition, the freedom for women to participate fully in the public sphere lay at the heart of social advancement. Her labours at 'Fownhope' thus need to be seen as a riposte to those who would depict the women of the urban elite as the decorative do nothings of the domestic sphere."<sup>14</sup> Focused on social progress, the Wildings saw Christchurch as a city of promise.

The process of settling in Christchurch, regarded as a most English city, appears to have been smooth for the couple. They made their new home a few miles south of the city centre, with a farmlet they called Fownhope. Their move coincided with the growth of

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<sup>10</sup> John R. Gillis, *A World of Their Own Making: Myth, ritual and the quest for family values* (New York: Basic Books, 1996) 179.

<sup>11</sup> Gillis, 179.

<sup>12</sup> Shelley Richardson, 360.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid*, 360.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid*, 361-62.



Christchurch into a fully-fledged city, a backdrop that allowed Frederick Wilding to make his mark as an elite gentleman. With his position as a partner in a law firm, Frederick had enough wealth to support his children through their education and 'grand tours' of the continent, and was a member of the exclusive Christchurch Club. Whilst the family were not outwardly religious, Frank Wilding's army records note his affiliation as being with the Church of England and this fits with his Christchurch setting.<sup>15</sup> As an insight into the elite world of Christchurch, the Wilding family offer a lens.

Examining the story of a family is both enticing and challenging. The Wildings suggest a different view of masculinity, one that sits counter to Jock Phillips' thesis of men reaching backwards for a pioneer imagery. Instead, the Wilding story is one of the male members of the family sitting alongside the females, where Julia Wilding appears to have controlled life within the space of Fownhope, supported by her husband as an active father and a strong presence in the lives of his children. Caution must always limit the conclusions that can be drawn in a case study based on private images held in a public space, but these images show that the ideas of what constituted masculine behaviour varied amongst individuals. The photographs of the Wilding family demonstrate how the private sphere enhances the understanding of masculine identity.

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<sup>15</sup> For further discussion of the role religion played in the Wilding family, refer to Richardson, 58-60.

## Gundry Collection

Surrounded by a cardboard frame, a lone man stares out. The sepia tones of the photograph add depth and suggest the photograph was taken sometime after 1880. In the background there is, on first glance, a non-descript building that offers few clues to who the man is and where this photograph was taken. The image (Figure 2:4) sits within a family collection, stored digitally and labelled. It has been inserted into a family tree which tells of the Gundry family in New Zealand. When tracing the family tree through the successive generations that originated with Samuel and Mary Anne Gundry, who ventured to New Zealand in 1851, it eventually leads to Marty Jensen, my father, and then on to me. It is this most personal connection which brought the Gundry family into the realm of this thesis. The discussion will centre on one photograph (Figure 2:4), that of William Hickley Gundry who was the sixth child of Samuel Gundry (but the third of Samuel's second wife Mary Anne). There are no details about the photograph beyond the name of the man, and it lives on as a digital image within a larger collection of family photographs under my mother's care.

In the photograph Gundry sat on a cane chair outside a weatherboard house. There is no clear indication to why the photograph has been taken, and its date is unclear. Sporting a white beard, William, who died aged fifty-five, appears to be in the latter stages of his life. This photograph is similar in appearance to one published in the Canterbury edition of *The New Zealand Cyclopaedia* in 1903, which makes it likely to have been taken sometime between 1895 and his death in 1907.<sup>16</sup>

The setting of the photograph is anonymous with the passage of time. The building style suggests a private home, with floral curtains visible in the window and the basic door.

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<sup>16</sup> "GUNDRY, William Hickley FIANZ," in *The Cyclopaedia of New Zealand: Volume 3. - Canterbury Provincial District* (Christchurch: Cyclopaedia Company, 1903) 279.



FIGURE 2:4 WILLIAM HICKLEY GUNDRY, GUNDRY COLLECTION, LOUISE JENSEN

The chair was placed on a concrete floor, with the weatherboard slats of the exterior walls providing the background. William resided in St Albans, though he also had office space in Fisher's Building on Hereford Street, and it is therefore most likely to have been taken at his

family home. His setting directly ties him to the internal part of the house, with the window and the door both connecting him to the domestic elements of the home. He was surrounded by links to domesticity, but yet his gaze was outwards. As he looked to the left of the frame, William did not directly engage with the photographer. Yet he sat and with a steady expression suggested an awareness of the photographer's presence. Relaxed in his seat, William looked out to the distance with hands resting on his lap and legs spread. His chest was open to the photographer, and his body language reinforced that he was comfortable in the setting and with the camera. He was bearded, with a dark moustache that dominated his face. He rested his left arm on the seat arm and leaned back into the chair. Wearing a three piece suit, with a top hat and even potentially gloves, William presented himself as a gentleman in this photograph. He had carefully accessorised, with a white handkerchief in his jacket pocket and a pocket watch or fob attached to his waistcoat, to go with the hat and gloves. Around his neck he wore a black tie. The existence of this photograph suggests it was most likely tied to an occasion.

Sitting alone, there is no obvious suggestion of family in the photograph. However, William was dressed formally and it could be that this photograph is what remains of a noted family occasion. For example, three of his surviving daughters married at St Matthews Church, St Albans between 1902 and 1904. The occasions were not always celebratory, however, such as the funeral of William and Ellen's fifth child Ethel in 1903. Almost exactly one year after her wedding and a week after the birth of her son, Ethel died. These events would have called for formal attire from William as a middle-class professional father. The composition of the photograph suggests the photographer was reasonably skilled, with the subject positioned appropriately and the image nicely balanced. This perhaps offers further suggestion that the photograph may have originated from a family wedding, where a pho-

tographer would have been used to record the bride and groom. Alternatively, in the era of Kodak, where the role of women as photographers of their family came to the fore, this may have also been a family photograph taken by someone within William's private realm.

The important aspects of this photograph centre on the relationship of the individual to the environment he was in. Situated in front of a domestic setting ensures the viewer sees William as connected to the home. Whilst his view was outwards, he was supported by the sturdiness and safety of the home behind him. Dressed formally, the audience can place him within a class setting and begin to draw inferences about who the man in the image was. He was male and middle class, and part of a family which in this photograph has formed the backdrop for understanding his role. Even without other people around him, the use of the building and the implied domesticity allows the viewer to place him within the private realm. As this photograph now inhabits the private family collection, it is most apparent that it is an image that will have been passed down through the generations. The meaning of the photograph, most likely once shaped by those who saw William as husband or father, continues to draw on the connection to the idea of family.

William was born a year after his parent's arrival in Lyttelton, and sat firmly within the realm of middle class. On arrival in New Zealand, William's uncle John Seager Gundry's diary includes details of hiring domestic help and the purchase and establishment of the new homes of both John and his brother Samuel.<sup>17</sup> Based in Lyttelton, Samuel established a general store to service the town, but his occupation on the electoral roll was recorded as clerk.<sup>18</sup> William was privately educated in Lyttelton by Reverend J. Ferguson, before receiv-

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<sup>17</sup> John Seager Gundry, *Dr Gundry's Diary Part Two* (Christchurch: Nag's Head Press, 1983) 9, 11, 16-17.

<sup>18</sup> "Electoral Roll for the town of Lyttelton," *Lyttelton Times*, 9 July 1853.

ing commercial training in the office of his brother-in-law, merchant E.C. Latter.<sup>19</sup> A merchant, accountant and auditor at various stages in his professional life, William moved south to Ashburton for several years before returning to Christchurch in 1888 where, apart from a year long stint in Tasmania, he remained.<sup>20</sup> Outside of work, one of the great commitments in his life appears to be the Freemasons.<sup>21</sup> He held office as deputy district grand master for several years, and maintained involvement till his death when the Lodge St. Augustine organised his funeral.<sup>22</sup> William's work and leisure time appeared to be dominated by his existence within male dominated environments, but in the midst of this he married in 1872, just a few months before his twentieth birthday, and had a family of eight children.

The published material about William, which appeared primarily in *The Cyclopedia of New Zealand*, reinforces the public nature of men's lives. The detailed entry on William only briefly mentions his marriage and children in the last line.<sup>23</sup> However, it is noteworthy that this photograph has survived, as it suggests that family and masculine identity were indeed interlinked. This photograph of William Hickley Gundry is particularly important because of its rarity. It is the only one of him within the family collection. That it has survived more than a century is interesting, as it highlights how this photograph has been treasured. He sat alone, connected to but not within a family group. The image was important enough to have been carefully stored and subsequently shared among subsequent generations. Patricia Holland wrote that one must follow the 'ghostly clues' of family photographs with caution, but

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<sup>19</sup> "Gundry, William Hickley FIANZ," 279-80.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid*, 279-80.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid*, 280.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid*, 280; "Funeral notices," *Star* 4 October 1907, 3.

<sup>23</sup> "Gundry, William Hickley FIANZ," 280.

she also reinforced the place of personal photographs in historical research.<sup>24</sup> She wrote that, “in making an effort to *reread* private pictures, there has been a move to revalue the undervalued and to bring into public discourse meanings which have hitherto been concealed in the most secret parts of the private sphere.”<sup>25</sup> One can look further back to Roland Barthes who wrote in *Camera Lucida* that, “The photograph does not necessarily say *what is no longer*, but only and for certain *what has been*.”<sup>26</sup> That is, an image continues to exist, even when the contextual understanding has been lost. Thus, in delving into the family photographs meaning can be drawn out even without the knowledge that the original audience may have held.

Heinz K. Henisch and Bridget A. Henisch broached the limitations of family photography in *The Photographic Experience 1839-1914*. They wrote that, “Images of private life lose much of their power once they lose their identity. It is hard to bear in mind, while flicking through a pile of faded photographs, that these forlorn, forsaken pictures once marked important moments in a family’s history, and stood as milestones in its own particular progress from one generation to the next.”<sup>27</sup> A big challenge when looking through family photographs is the lack of detail regarding the images. Sometimes, names and dates are lovingly inscribed on the back of a photograph, or noted alongside in an album. Other times, a more modern hand has made notes, often followed by a question mark. Unfortunately, particularly in family collections, the most likely scenario is a blank page. This is even more pronounced as collections are digitised, with potential notes on the back of the photograph lost

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<sup>24</sup> Patricia Holland, “‘Sweet it is to scan...’: Personal photographs and popular photography” in *Photography: A Critical Introduction* Third Edition, ed. Liz Wells (London: Routledge, 1996) 118.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid*, 119.

<sup>26</sup> Roland Barthes, *Camera Lucida*, trans. Richard Howard (New York: Hill and Wang, 1981) 85.

<sup>27</sup> Heinz K. Henisch and Bridget A. Henisch, *The Photographic Experience 1839-1914: Images and Attitudes* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1994) 193.

forever. The image discussed in this chapter has been obtained in a digital format, and has no record of any notes. However, it has been filed under William's name, and with comparison to the other known photograph of him in the Canterbury edition of the Cyclopedia New Zealand, it is clearly him. Beyond that, there is a reliance on piecing together a puzzle and cautiously following those 'ghostly clues'.

Gundry's gaze out of the frame allows the viewer to observe him in what appears to be an unscripted moment where the photographer is not directly acknowledged. Reading this as an image within the private sphere, Gundry is seen as tied to his family by the physical presence of the home. However, this photograph also encourages the viewer to see the subject as a man alone. He is linked to home, but yet still sits apart from it. A middle-class man, Gundry's masculine identity is shaped by the varying places he inhabits at different times. He is a working man in the public world, a family man at home, and a man who occupies a space in between as part of the Freemasons. The roles inhabited are thus both complementary and contradictory at different times. He can be viewed as a family man, photographed in a way that ties him to the private setting of home, but it is too simple to suggest this defines him completely. William Hickley Gundry complicates the story of New Zealand masculinity. He does not fit the narrative of the egalitarian man in *A Man's Country*, but he also does not entirely remove himself from an idea of man alone. Neither a veteran of war, not a man who fits within a minority group, Gundry is instead part of the untold story of Christchurch's masculine history.



## Beken Collection

In the wedding photographs of the Beken Collection, the convergence of the public and private worlds was symbolised through portraiture. Acknowledging the wedding rituals, with the formal dress and the careful composition, Charles Beken has framed the public acknowledgement of the private relationship of two people. In doing so, masculine involvement within marriage and the private sphere is being acknowledged. Not only by the man who presents himself as the groom, but also through the man who, as photographer, records the moment.

Charles Beken was a cabinetmaker and keen photographer. His photography skills were well noted and as a member of the Christchurch Photographic Society he picked up awards and presented talks.<sup>28</sup> The *Star* wrote in September 1895 of Beken's highly regarded contribution to the Photographic Exhibition at The Industrial Exhibition. "Mr Charles Beken shows some exceedingly nice work, one of the most attractive specimens of which is No. 78, an enlarged portrait of a child, charming in its delicacy and softness."<sup>29</sup> However, despite his success, Beken appears to have maintained photography as a side interest for most of his life. On the electoral roll his occupation was listed as cabinetmaker till 1928, when, aged in his late sixties, Beken's occupation was recorded as photographer. There is a large selection of Beken photographs catalogued at Canterbury Museum, though the complete collection has not been recorded yet.<sup>30</sup> Beken's background, with a father who worked as a carpenter till he was declared bankrupt and reinvented himself as an undertaker in Christchurch, tells

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<sup>28</sup> "The sketch and photographic exhibition," *Press*, 9 October 1904, 4; "Meetings, Entertainments," *Press*, 18 July 1904.

<sup>29</sup> "The Industrial Exhibition," *Star* 24 September 1895.

<sup>30</sup> Beken Collection, Canterbury Museum, collated 8 July 2013.

of a working class upbringing.<sup>31</sup> However, he clearly had enough time, and money, to pursue leisure activities such as photography. The subjects of the wider Beken Collection suggest the potential that his hobby also provided a source of income throughout his working life. Photographs of events, such as the International Exhibition in Christchurch, feature prominently in the museum collection, and these may have been on sold. As well as this, there are several examples of family portraits in the collection. This includes an action photograph of a child bathing, and several staged group portraits.<sup>32</sup> Alongside the wedding portraits, these family photographs show the importance of recording the private realm, likely for financial reward. Whilst his wedding photographs have not been catalogued, the copy print folders at Canterbury Museum highlight the vastness of his collection. The public, masculine view of the wedding celebration that Beken represented was thus one shaped by expectation and financial investment in the outcome. If Beken wished to gain repeat business, he would have needed to produce a good image which fit within the expected social norms. The private act of marriage was in many ways a public institution, and the photographic record of this is one clear example.<sup>33</sup>

The wedding of John Henry Coombs and Helen Stevenson took place in 1894. There are family ties between Beken and the Coombs which continues through till at least 1917.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> "In Bankruptcy," *Press*, 7 March 1871, 4; "Funeral notices," *Press*, 23 February 1872.

<sup>32</sup> Beken Collection, Canterbury Museum.

<sup>33</sup> For further discussion on the public nature of marriage, refer to Nancy F. Cott, *Public Vows: A history of marriage and the nation* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000).

<sup>34</sup> "The Ladies," *Timaru Herald*, 20 January 1917.

Little biographical detail is noted on the photographs in the Beken Collection, which poses the first challenge for the image set. However, two photographs are recorded as being of a Mr and Mrs Coombs, and dated in the 1890s. The most likely identities of the couple are that of John Henry Coombs and his wife Helen Stevenson. They appear to have been married in 1894 in Dunedin, before later moving to Timaru. A reference in a 1917 women's column in the *Timaru Herald* notes a Lucy Becken visiting with a Mrs H. Coombs. Charles Beken's youngest daughter was Lucy, born in 1891 and married in 1921. The Becken surname does not show up in the electoral roll, however, there are other examples of where Beken is misspelled. This link is tentative, but offers a viable interpretation of the identities of Mr and Mrs Coombs. There were six other Coombs' weddings registered in New Zealand during the 1890s, but none of these appear to have strong ties to Christchurch. (Euphe-

There are two photographs from this wedding in the copy print folders at Canterbury Museum, both of which are familiar wedding portraits. Figure 2:6 showed the couple carefully posed, potentially on a porch, while Figure 2:7 was a group photograph with everyone gathered outside a building on the lawn. Earthquake damage at Canterbury Museum limits the ability to view the images in the original format that they entered the archival collection. However, both of these photographs included notes added by archivists on their reverse. The limited detail suggests they were copied from the original, instead of being the result of later research. Grouped within a folder of wedding photography, the two photographs have taken on a new meaning. They now exist in an exclusively public space, removed from the private setting and its intrinsic knowledge which once shaped the meaning of these two photographs.

John sat at his wife's side in Figure 2:6, with hands clasped and resting on his slightly spread legs. While his bride looked directly into the camera lens, John's gaze was to the side and, with head slightly tilted; his interest was captured by something in the distance. Dressed in a three piece suit, with the chain of his pocket watch visible and handkerchief in his breast pocket, John looked comfortable in his formal clothing. The style of his shirt collar, which sat high, and of his suit fit within the fashion of the time. He was carefully groomed,

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mia Church and Henry James Coombs married in 1895 and are listed in the electoral roll as living in Wellington; Selina Gardner and William Coombs married in 1897 and are listed in the electoral roll as living in Wanganui; Alice Smith and William Coombs married in 1897 and are listed in the electoral roll as living in Palmerston North; Naomi Stringer and Richard Coombs married in 1898 are listed in the electoral roll as living in Geraldine (though, unusually, they later divorced due to Naomi's regular disappearances, which were rumoured to have ultimately resulted in her departure to Sydney); Annie Thomas and Arthur Coombs married in 1897 and are listed in the electoral roll as living in Nelson; and Catherine Warne and Andrew Coombs married in 1897 and are listed on the electoral roll as living in the Manawatu.) Also, the wedding fashion suggests the couple were middle class, which is challenging to reconcile with the other Coombs' men who were listed on the electoral roll as labourers or plumbers. Thus, the most likely identities of Mr and Mrs Coombs are John and Helen, who lived in multiple locations across New Zealand. Including them in a study of Christchurch masculinity is challenging, as they married in Dunedin. However, the focus is on the Beken Collection, which is situated within Christchurch, and thus it can still be deemed to fit within the scope of this thesis. Also, the marriage certificate ties John to a Canterbury birth, so he has his links to the region. John, a violinist, and Helen, a music teacher, appear to have had just one son, Charles, who died shortly after his birth in 1895.



FIGURE 2:5 MR AND MRS COOMBS WEDDING PHOTOGRAPH 1890S, C BEKEN COLLECTION CANTERBURY MUSEUM (1955.81.688)

with hair swept back and moustache trimmed. Positioned with bride standing and groom seated, the photograph was shaped by the limitations of the camera to capture the white dress.<sup>35</sup> This therefore resulted in the man being seated to help achieve visual balance; his more casual pose thus reinforced the formality of the bride.<sup>36</sup> The stiffness of the arrangement, alongside the ethereal nature of Helen who almost faded into her dress and was softened by the lack of focus of her veil and bouquet, highlighted the relaxed demeanour presented by John. The couple did not touch, though John is turned in towards Helen. Sitting on what appears to be a porch, with exterior cladding at the right of the photograph and foliage at the left, this couple have marked their entry into the public record as Mr and Mrs Coombs with a private photograph of themselves.

With the private realm of home providing the backdrop, John Coombs is a relaxed man. He does not look concerned or unhappy about the marriage and the subsequent cementing of his ties to the private sphere. With Helen slightly behind him, as he angles his head and body towards her, there is an indication of his acceptance of a role of protector within the marriage. In this photograph, both John Coombs and Charles Beken are shaping the masculine image. John, with his comfortable image in the role of groom, countered the prevailing historiographical narrative of man alone. He was instead acknowledging his part within a new family unit. The formality of the wedding portrait can make it a difficult document to read. Dressed in their finest, on their wedding day a couple is often markedly different to what their normal routine suggests. However, this does not render them

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<sup>35</sup> Suzanne McWha, "'Momentous for Time and Eternity': The Photographic Portrait of Miss Marion Henty," (PhD Thesis, School of History, La Trobe University, 2009) 295.

"The seated male-female standing visual trope was a response to technical limitations of photography at the time. The dark wedding suit of the groom translated photographically into a dominant and strong visual silhouette. In contrast the white wedding regalia was realized photographically very poorly and often looked washed out."

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid*, 295.

irrelevant. Instead, the photographs offer an insight in the stories, emotions and histories of those framed in the photograph. Historian Nicole Hudgins' 2010 article reinforced the importance of the family photograph to scholars. She wrote that, "Photographs helped define the modern family and its members' roles by recording events and relationships over time. Just as importantly, photographs enable individuals to assert their unique identities, and the panoply of their interests within and outside their nuclear household."<sup>37</sup> For John, the wedding photograph is an insight into one definition of his role within society, which is as husband.

Whilst the average age of marriage for a man in 1894 New Zealand was 29.79 years, John was just 24.<sup>38</sup> Young, urban and middle-class, John's masculine identity in this image is centred on his position within the domestic realm, though his gaze outwards ensured he retained ties to the external, public world. As the photographer, Beken has captured John in this relaxed state. He has not directed John to look at the camera, or to present himself differently. Instead, a young man has been captured on the edge of the public and private realms; he looks outwards but is now intrinsically tied to the domestic ideas that frame him. On its own, this photograph offers a somewhat stilted view of the young couple, but it offers the ability to begin an interaction with the couple.

In the story of Mr and Mrs Coombs, there is the ability to take a step back and look at them in a broader group photograph (Figure 2:7). Standing slightly to the left of centre, a veil and bouquet differentiates Helen from her gaggle of bridesmaids, whilst John is merely recognisable as the bridegroom by his position beside his bride. The crispness of John's suit is lost as he stands surrounded by others dressed in black or dark colours. His stance is

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<sup>37</sup> Hudgins, 564.

<sup>38</sup> *New Zealand Official Yearbook, 1895.*



FIGURE 2:6 MR AND MRS COOMBS WEDDING GROUP 1890S, C BEKEN COLLECTION CANTERBURY MUSEUM (1955.81.687)

awkward, with one leg slightly in front of the other, and his shoulders are slouched. Only one arm is visible, as it rests alongside his leg with his fingers curled in. The other is hidden behind Helen, and perhaps is resting on her back.

Less controlled by the stilted formality of the official wedding portrait, there is the suggestion of intimacy in the interaction of John and Helen. Both had their eyes trained to the right, as though their gaze was drawn to the same thing which most of the others in the wider group have missed or are ignoring (except for two women within the crowd who had their eyes drawn to the right as well). Helen stood, leaning slightly in towards her new husband, whilst John's stance was open towards Helen. This unconscious body language was unlikely to have been governed by direction as Beken attempted to successfully capture the group.

The placement of the couple, and the conventions which may have governed those

who stand alongside them, are likely to reflect the direction of the photographer. Apart from the four bridesmaids dressed in white, the men and women have not been completely segregated in this photograph. Despite this, women are more prevalent in the right side of the frame, while men predominantly fill the left. At the far right, with a clerical collar around his neck, the minister stood with his right leg outstretched. He was at the front of the photograph, and commanded a larger space than the others who were standing closely together. A woman behind him was forced to lean to her right in an attempt to see the photographer. The official rested his hands in front of himself, comfortable in front of the camera and at the forefront of the group. This was a man who was clearly happy with the attention that comes from the role he holds. His masculinity was shaped by the role he holds in society and he was assured in that.

In the front row the young boys and girls were all relegated to sitting on the ground. With only one girl to offer a contrast, the slight changes in how they sit do not offer any clear insights. However, the separation of the children from the adults reinforced the graduation of gender ideas. The young boys were dressed in a similar fashion to the men but they sat with legs carefully placed to the sides, which highlighted the difference. For all but one of the boys, the appearance of short pants, contrasted to the longer trousers worn by the men, again differentiates. It was one of the oldest boys who wore long pants, suggesting he was on the cusp of moving to stand amongst the adult men.

Importantly, the presence of the young couple in amongst a larger group of guests indicates the function of the wedding ceremony within the social order. This ritual helps to cement the gender roles of the individuals and thus reinforces wider concepts of what it means to be men and women. The wedding ceremony marks the convergence of private identity within the public realm. It is in the exchange of vows that the private relationship of



two people becomes sanctioned by society. Nancy Cott argued in 2000 that marriage is, and has always been, a public institution.<sup>39</sup> She wrote that, “turning men and women into husbands and wives, marriage has designated the ways both sexes act in the world and the reciprocal relation between them. It has done so probably more emphatically than any other single institution or single force.”<sup>40</sup> New Zealand historian Barbara Brookes wrote in 2003 that the public setting was important to the wedding ritual, arguing that, “on wedding days the community gave sanction to the gendered contract and witnessed an occasion on which a couple undertook to share their talents and to build a life together.”<sup>41</sup> By capturing this public act of the private union, the wedding photograph continues to enforce the gender roles of men and women. However, what is often overlooked is how the presence of men in these photographs formally acknowledged their role within the private sphere of home and family.

An urban man who married in the 1890s, John’s experience sits in the midst of what Phillips’ described as a period of cultural transition in New Zealand.<sup>42</sup> The argument centres on the frontier culture falling victim to a, “siege from the middle-class warriors of respectability.”<sup>43</sup> However, to suggest that, by marrying and taking part in a well-developed public ritual, John was a middle-class warrior is too farfetched. Instead, through his reinforcement of the societal norms John suggests that men simply identified with different ideas of what masculinity meant. For John, this meant that despite his youth he opted to take on the role of husband and thus acknowledged the importance of this to him as a man. In stark contrast

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<sup>39</sup> Nancy F. Cott, *Public Vows: A History of Marriage and the Nation* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000)

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid* 3.

<sup>41</sup> Brookes, 355.

<sup>42</sup> Phillips, 39.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid*, 40-42.

to Phillips' rural heart of masculinity, John and his wife lived in various towns and cities across New Zealand and had a passion for music. They have left behind a small public record, through electoral records and appearances in newspaper articles, which allows the researcher the ability to present an understanding of the couple. Whilst the focus is on John Coombs, and ideas of masculinity presented through him, this must also involve his wife. Gender is not constructed in isolation; to understand masculinity one must see it in concert with femininity. In the space of marriage, gender roles were defined in reflection of the external.

John Coombs can be identified in part through his marriage, and thus through his role as husband. The exchange of vows, and the recording of the day through photography, reflected the importance of marriage within the relationship. Hudgins wrote that the rise of photography marked a transition in the act of portraying the concept of family to the world, as it allowed the creation of narratives to all classes of society. She argued that, "henceforth, the wedding portrait would be a required ritual from the heights of northern wealth to the most obscure unions. In a period when divorce remained rare ... the wedding photo became the frontispiece of a family's own autobiography, literally for better or worse."<sup>44</sup> For John, the construction of his family remained that of himself and his wife, following the sudden death of his son. Charles Coombs, born 1895, only lived a day and his grave now rests unmarked by a headstone. For unknown reasons, John and Helen appear to have had no other children and this undoubtedly contributed to the rather itinerant nature of their lives. Tracing John through the electoral rolls, he is listed with residences at various times in

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<sup>44</sup> Hudgins, 569.

Dunedin, Timaru, Rotorua and Auckland.<sup>45</sup> Initially a coal merchant, John goes on to be a manager at Dresden Company (which sells pianos) in Timaru, and then from 1911 identifies himself as a musician (only in 1914 is this refined to violinist, by his next listing he is again a musician).<sup>46</sup> During his time with Dresden, John is noted as travelling throughout the South Island, and it is likely that at times he and Helen lived somewhat separate lives.<sup>47</sup> In 1912, there is note of John performing in Dunedin, and in 1914 he is recorded on the local electoral roll without Helen.<sup>48</sup> However, by 1919, they were both listed at the same residence in Rotorua. These scant details sit alongside our photographs and allow some suggested conclusions to be drawn.

First of all, the idea of marriage was undoubtedly an important component of the lives of many New Zealand men in the period before World War One. For John Coombs, the idea of a family was in some ways limited, with no children succeeding him. However, his decision to marry a fellow musician in his early twenties, and the development of their lives together, suggest his marriage was important to him. They built a life together, though at times they were separated, and this resulted in them moving north together. John does not fit the stereotype of New Zealand masculinity as portrayed by Phillips. He offers but one example of how this mould does not fit. By looking further into lived lives of men as husbands, as well as fathers, we can only deepen our understanding of how the private sphere shaped the understandings of New Zealand masculinity.

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<sup>45</sup> "Coombs, John Henry," *New Zealand Electoral Roll*, Dunedin, Otago, 1896, 58; "Coombs, John Henry," *New Zealand Electoral Roll*, Rotorua, Bay of Plenty, 1919, 27; "Coombs, John Henry," *New Zealand Electoral Roll*, Waitemata, Auckland, 49.

<sup>46</sup> "Coombs, John Henry," *New Zealand Electoral Roll*, Timaru, 1911.

<sup>47</sup> "Advertisements," *Grey River Argus* 25 April 1899.

<sup>48</sup> "Industrial Exhibition," *Otago Daily Times* 14 December 1912.

## Conclusion

Through photography, the viewer can gain a unique insight into the private world of the family. In the pages of an album, a constructed view of individuals' lives can play out. Carefully staged and selected, the photographs of families at the turn of the twentieth century can merely hint at the 'reality' of the private sphere. However, these hints can still offer the viewer noteworthy points. They show how a family wished to be viewed, and how individuals saw their relationships with their most intimate associates.

This chapter has narrowed down on three sites, and used photographs as a gateway into the private sphere. The interactions within the family, the work of the photographers, and the role men play highlight the complexity of private masculinity. Using a range of photographs, this chapter demonstrated the contrasting relationships men have with the family. It is an area ripe for further research. The differences between men are most marked in the inter-family relationships. Both the interactions with women as wives and with children are portrayed throughout this chapter. What this offers is a starting point for understanding how men who moved between the public and private spheres saw their places within the family.

The most notable disparity was between the photographs of Frederick Wilding as part of a family unit, and of William Hickley Gundry who sat on the periphery. Wilding was portrayed alongside his children, holding his son upright on the bike, or smiling with his family after a session on the tennis court. This imagery contrasted Phillips' argument of men uncertain about their place in the family. Wilding was presented as an active, engaged father. Meanwhile, a rare photograph of Gundry offered a reinforcement of Phillips' stereotype of New Zealand men. Gundry sat alone, clearly on the periphery of the family though intrinsi-

cally tied through the domestic backdrop. He was part of a family, but the family members are noticeable due to their absence. There was suggestion of a celebration, but still Gundry sat alone. The private masculine identities of Wilding and Gundry, who both made their home in Christchurch at the turn of the twentieth century, are markedly different. Masculinity's private shaping is more complicated than stereotypes can explain.

Notably, the public institution of the wedding ceremony highlighted the importance of ritual to family. Masculine identity was shaped by this public display of a private relationship. The convergence of public and private was also marked by the economy surrounding the wedding ceremony. For Charles Beken as a photographer, the wedding ritual was the opportunity for him to make money. This public exchange thus shaped the framing of the wedding photograph. These complex ties demonstrate how important the private sphere was to a man's masculine identity.

The private sphere was the setting for family and home. It is traditionally centred on women and the feminine influence of wives and mothers. However, the interaction of men with the private realm is complicated but meaningful. Men see themselves and shape their masculinity through their relationship with the home. Masculinity does not exist in isolation; it is a fluid concept that changes according to the setting.

# The In Between

## Chapter Three

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### Introduction

This thesis argues that an 'in between' sits alongside the more commonly acknowledged public and private spheres. Drawing from what John Tosh labelled 'all male associations,' that is the spaces where patriarchy could be extended beyond home, this alternate domesticity is a homosocial setting.<sup>1</sup> It is where men can retreat from their homes into male-only environments. What separates this 'in between' from the public sphere is the privacy it offers. Settings such as the gentlemen's club and the school yard demonstrate this difference. They are neither acted out in public, with exclusivity limiting who can take part, nor are they part of the feminine, private realm.

This emphasis on homosociality has gained traction in the historiography surrounding the history of masculinity. Chris Brickell has examined the gay history of New Zealand, looking at the intimate relationships between men.<sup>2</sup> Internationally, there has been a move towards exploring the homosocial world of the gentlemen's club. Centring on London, scholars such as Valerie Capdeville argued that the exclusively male environment of the club

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<sup>1</sup> John Tosh, "What should historians do with masculinity? Reflections on nineteenth-century Britain," *History Workshop* 38 (1994) 179-202.

<sup>2</sup> Chris Brickell, *Mates and Lovers: A history of gay New Zealand* (Auckland: Random House, 2008); Chris Brickell, *Manly Affections: The Photographs of Robert Gant, 1885-1915* (Dunedin: Genre Books, 2012); Chris Brickell, *Two-by-Two: Men in Pairs* (Dunedin: Genre Books, 2013).

redefined 'polite masculinity'.<sup>3</sup> She wrote that, "Homosociality thus favoured social cohesion among the polite circles of English society. The exclusion of women from clubs provided the necessary condition for the definition of English male sociability."<sup>4</sup> This homosocial world is thus an ideal setting for examining the complexity of New Zealand masculinity.

This thesis focuses on two distinct settings: the gentlemen's club and the boys' secondary school. The earthquake was again a roadblock in sourcing material, but both the Christchurch Club and Christchurch Boys' High School provided access to their collections. Whilst the Christchurch Club's building suffered damage and their records are inaccessible, the club kindly lent a copy of Gordon Ogilvie's book *The Shagroons' Palace: A History of the Christchurch Club 1856-2006*, and the author offered permission to use the photographs he sourced from the club itself. The Christchurch Club demonstrates the interconnectedness of rural and urban influences in the city. By 1900, a third of the club's members were city professionals but the origins of the club were rural. It was a city retreat for Canterbury run-holders. To this end, it offers a unique insight into Christchurch urbanity. Meanwhile, the institutional setting of Christchurch Boys' High School offers the second collection for study in this chapter. Drawing from three issues of the *Boys' High School Magazine* from 1917, the focus is on schoolboys during the war. This selection is centred on acknowledging the impact war has on the shaping of masculine identity.

The use of these two sites allows this thesis to demonstrate the importance of the 'in between' to understanding masculinity. Noting the importance of homosociality to the lives of men, this thesis continues to highlight the differences in the lived experiences of Christchurch men.

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<sup>3</sup> Valeri Capdeville, "Gender at stake: The role of the eighteenth century London Clubs in shaping a new model of English masculinity," *Culture, Society and Masculinities* 4:1 (2012) 13-32.

<sup>4</sup> Capdeville, 23.

## The Christchurch Club

A photograph (Figure 3:1) fills half a page in Gordon Ogilvie's book *The Shagroons' Palace*.<sup>5</sup> A lengthy caption accompanies it, adding context. It sits in the midst of a chapter, "Between the wars," within a book about the elite Christchurch Club. The only photograph on the two-page spread, it is surrounded by text and a sketched cartoon is placed on the opposite page. The photograph gains prominence with its positioning within Ogilvie's book which, despite its heavy illustration, only features one group photograph of club members within the fifty year time period of this thesis' study (1880-1930). Its meaning is shaped by these external factors. The photograph is viewed as an illustration primarily, one that is not directly referenced within the text of the book. *The Shagroons' Palace* interweaves thematic discussion within the broader narrative. The emphasis on the pages that surround this photograph is the story of the period between the first and second world wars, a time of economic hardships and a changing nature of the club. Placing the photograph within a history book encourages the viewer to see it as an accurate and fair reflection of the past. In this, the relationship between knowledge and power comes to the fore. The decisions to include this photograph within the club's archives, for it later to be selected by Ogilvie, and then to be included within this thesis is demonstrative of the power held by the user of the image to shape its message. These elements, and this awareness of the audience, are crucial components of discussing the photograph itself.

This is a staged photograph, taken against a backdrop that is anonymous without further knowledge. There was no signage to indicate where they are, nor why the photograph was taken. Four rows of men were pictured, with two men inset at either side of the

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<sup>5</sup> Gordon Ogilvie, *The Shagroons' Palace: A History of the Christchurch Club 1856-2006* (Christchurch: Henry Elworthy Ltd, 2005) 162.





FIGURE 3:1 A CLUB PHOTOGRAPH FROM THE 1920S TAKEN ON THE SITE OF THE PRESENT BUTTERY, *THE SHAGROONS' PALACE*, GORDON OGILVIE

image. The men were generally relaxed in their stances, with a variety of poses and a lack of uniformity to their placement. Whilst there was a sense of direction in their arrangement, particularly in regards to those seated, this does not extend to clean lines with the back two rows highlighting the disorganisation. The caption to the photograph explained that the men are situated at the club, which suggests they all either occupy the privileged position of being members, or are at the club as invited guests, given the exclusive nature of entry. The photograph has been recorded as having been taken at the present day Buttery. Whilst they are all dressed in three piece suits, there are a variety of styles and colours on show. None of the men are wearing hats, most of the men are clean shaven or are sporting only a moustache - the fashion of the time has resulted in the demise of the beard. There are a range of

ages pictured, but the men appear to be comfortable in one another's company. In the front row, two men are sitting with legs crossed on the ground. The man on the right has his arms spread so that they are resting on the thighs of the men seated on chairs behind him. There is an informality to the photograph which suggests that while the men are conscious of the photographer in front of them, they are unperturbed by how they are viewed. This does not appear to be a photograph which was taken for public viewing, but a private record to maintain within the club itself.

Ogilvie has identified nine of the men, which helps to date it beyond the indication within the caption that it was from the 1920s. One man included, T.J. Maling, did not join the club till 1922, and another, J.C.N Grigg, died in 1926, which narrows the timeframe to between 1922 and 1926. Two of the nine men identified are likely to be visiting guests, with Dr Robert Irwin, the minister of Knox Church, and E.R. Guinness, one of the founders of Pyne Gould Guinness, not listed in Ogilvie's membership roll in *The Shagroons' Palace*.<sup>6</sup> Three of the remaining men, Arthur Elworthy, Sir Heaton Rhodes, and John Grigg were noted land-owners in Canterbury and demonstrate the ongoing pastoral influence within the club. This photograph reinforces the close ties in Canterbury between the rural countryside and the urbanity of the city. By 1900, a third of the club's membership was made up of professionals.<sup>7</sup> Thomas James Maling, a banker who went on to become a stock agent director at Pyne Gould Guinness, was also in the photograph.<sup>8</sup> There is little detail available about Dr Leslie Nancarrow, who twice served as club secretary and was likely to be Christchurch based.<sup>9</sup> Geoffrey Kingscote and George Gould were both urban dwellers, with Gould particularly

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<sup>6</sup> Ogilvie, 322-30.

<sup>7</sup> Megan Woods, "Behind closed doors: A study in elite Canterbury masculinity 1856-1900 with specific reference to the Christchurch and Canterbury clubs," (Hist630 Research Essay, University of Canterbury, 1995).

<sup>8</sup> Ogilvie, 151.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid*, 160, 182.

noteworthy.

George Gould was prominently positioned within the group photograph, with his hair parted in the middle and dressed in a light grey suit. He was seated fourth from the right in the second row from the front in the photograph. Another man had his elbow rested on Gould's leg, which was awkwardly positioned to the right. With his hands rested on his hips, Gould offered a hint of a smile to the camera. He appeared unperturbed by the close contact of the man in front of him, and his right leg has touched the Kingscote to his right. In the midst of this group of men, Gould was relaxed. He looked directly at the camera, acknowledging the record of his place within this homosocial setting.

In a study of masculinity, Gould can be viewed through his heavy involvement in the public world, and the contrast this offered to his life as a husband and father. The son of one of the founding members, Gould joined the Christchurch Club in 1889 and was regarded as a notable Christchurch businessman.<sup>10</sup> His name was central to Pyne, Gould and Guinness Ltd, one of New Zealand's largest stock and station agencies, of which he was a founding member. This connection highlights the ongoing interplay between the wider Canterbury district and the Christchurch elite. Gould maintained residences in Christchurch, but was also a prominent landowner in rural Canterbury - purchasing The Hermitage sheep station in 1902. Geoff Rice's biographical discussion in the *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* highlighted Gould's pastoral ties, such as his introduction of the South Suffolk breed and his association with horse racing, as well as his urban involvement within the realms of business and various club, association and committee roles.<sup>11</sup> Notably, Gould served as a director and chairman of the Christchurch Press Company for extended periods, playing a prominent role in

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<sup>10</sup> Ogilvie, 159.

<sup>11</sup> Geoff Rice, "Gould, George," *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* vol. 4 (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1998) 202-03.

'penny paper war', which resulted in the demise of two newspapers.<sup>12</sup>

With this prominent public life, it appears likely he was somewhat removed from his family life. It could be deduced that Gould, and other club members, looked to the Christchurch Club as an alternate domestic setting. Historian Amy Milne-Smith offered the idea of domesticity as an embodiment of a space and state of mind, not as exclusively the physical setting of the family, and thus the club offered the physical and emotional features of domesticity in many ways.<sup>13</sup> Gould was educated at Christ's College before he returned to England and studied at Harrow School and Jesus College. These all-male spaces, alongside his heavy involvement with pastoral pursuits and large businesses, suggest Gould would have felt comfortable in the homosocial environment of a gentlemen's club. Milne-Smith's examination of London clubs drew similar conclusions. It was in the place of the gentlemen's club, she argued, that elite men could define their own society free from the influence of women.<sup>14</sup> She wrote that, "this clubland community in turn tells us about the lived experiences of elite men - it tells us about their roles as individuals, as husbands, as fathers, as leaders of society - and how they struggled to maintain these multiple identities."<sup>15</sup> Gould and the other men in the photograph can be seen as representatives of this idea.

With the relaxed nature of the photograph, and the camaraderie amongst the men, Figure 3:1 is not meant as an advertisement for the Christchurch Club. The elite, exclusive nature of the setting removed this need to be worried about self-promotion. This is, instead, an image of a group of men within a private setting. It is different to the family photographs of chapter two, which drew clear connections between men and the women-dominated pri-

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<sup>12</sup> *Ibid*, 203.

<sup>13</sup> Amy Milne Smith, *London Clubland: A Cultural History of Gender and Class in Late Victorian Britain* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 111.

<sup>14</sup> Milne-Smith, 15.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid*, 15-16.

vate sphere. The Christchurch Club was a male-only environment until 1967, and this preserved it as an alternate domestic setting. It was one where men spent the time in the company of other men, but behind doors which kept the general public gaze out. Smiles and comfortable poses are visible in Figure 3:1, the men are happy in the setting. It was a period of transition for the club, with the post war setting opening the door for younger men, returned from the front.<sup>16</sup> Masculine identity was not shaped wholly by a public persona or a family relationship; it was also shaped by this space in between.

This reading of Figure 3:1 fits within a broader historiographical discussion of elite masculinity and the club experience. It extends the stereotype presented by Phillips of an egalitarian, homogenised New Zealand masculinity. Instead, this photograph captures the exclusive and private setting of the gentleman's club. Through the restricted access, the club was distanced from the public sphere. The unpublished 1995 research essay of Megan Woods on the Christchurch and Canterbury clubs also engaged directly with Phillips' thesis of New Zealand's frontier masculinity.<sup>17</sup> Woods argued that a distinctive hierarchical style of masculinity existed within the elite class, that:

To the contemporary outsider the membership of both clubs would have in many ways been perceived as comprising the elite. However, within the elite there was a pecking order of social standing. Entry to the top echelons of the elite did not solely rely on wealth, rather it depended on power and a degree of respectability also.<sup>18</sup>

The photograph under analysis does question this emphasis on hierarchy, and offers no clear indication of it. What this may highlight is the evolution of the club during this interwar period, where youthful exuberance altered the style of the club.<sup>19</sup> Masculine identity was

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<sup>16</sup> Ogilvie, 163.

<sup>17</sup> Megan Woods, "Behind closed doors: A study in elite Canterbury masculinity 1856-1900 with specific reference to the Christchurch and Canterbury clubs," (Hist630 Research Essay, University of Canterbury, 1995).

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid*, 8, 26.

<sup>19</sup> Ogilvie, 163.

thus an evolving idea. Phillips' suggestion of men seeking friendship within a male dominated setting can be seen to be played out within the club. However, Woods extended the scholarship by casting focus in a new direction.

The international scholarship highlights the connection between domesticity and the club. Milne-Smith's argument centres on the importance of the club as a domestic space in Victorian England.<sup>20</sup> She wrote that, "Men used their clubs as they would a home - to read, write, dine, and meet with friends. Most importantly, the emotional ties men felt for their clubs went far beyond the convenient location and gourmet menu; for many members, a club conjured up all of the images and sensation of home."<sup>21</sup> Importantly, the prevalence of men's clubs highlights the emphasis placed on homosociality - men created a domestic space which was exclusively masculine.<sup>22</sup> Tosh has suggested elite men used the club as a means of escape from the domestic realm, highlighting the married men who frequented the club and acted as bachelors.<sup>23</sup> He wrote that, "The prominence of this element is a good indication of widespread ambivalence towards the pleasures and duties of family life."<sup>24</sup> Whether men embraced the club as a home or as an escape from the feminized space of the private sphere, central was the desire to embrace the homosocial world.

The Christchurch Club's history was closely tied to the founding of the city itself, with the clubhouse running from its current site by May 1862.<sup>25</sup> Ogilvie explained that, "this new clubhouse was one of the most impressive products of the early 1860s building boom and it

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<sup>20</sup> Milne-Smith, *London Clubland: A Cultural History of Gender and Class in Late Victorian Britain*; Amy Milne-Smith, "A Flight to Domesticity? Making a Home in the Gentlemen's Clubs of London, 1880-1914," *Journal of British Studies* 45.4 (2006) 796-818; Amy Milne-Smith, "Club Talk: Gossip, Masculinity and Oral Communities in Late Nineteenth-Century London," *Gender and History* 21.1 (2009) 86-106.

<sup>21</sup> Milne-Smith, "A Flight From Domesticity?" 818.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid*, 818.

<sup>23</sup> Tosh, 187.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid*, 187.

<sup>25</sup> Ogilvie, 73.

was noted, after its central tower was completed, that it was then the tallest building in Christchurch after Wood's windmill in Antigua Street."<sup>26</sup> This prestigious building matched the exclusive nature of the Christchurch Club. Originally, it was primarily a Christchurch base for rural landowners. However, as the club grew, a higher proportion of Christchurch professionals joined. Membership was carefully controlled, and founding member George Ross noted in a letter to a friend in England that this was fundamental.<sup>27</sup> He wrote that, "our object is to keep up a high standard and let in only personal friends of our own set: this makes it more pleasant as a home."<sup>28</sup> The club members were politically influential from the outset, and the Canterbury Provincial Government, which existed from 1853-76, had 166 representatives elected, with seventy-four of them also members of the Christchurch Club.<sup>29</sup> This influence also extended to Wellington, with club members serving on the Legislative Council and in the House of Representatives.<sup>30</sup> Despite this heavy involvement in the public world of politics, within this alternative domestic setting topics such as business, religion or politics were officially avoided.<sup>31</sup> Undoubtedly networking continued among the members, but the ideal of a respite from the public world was at the heart of the club.

A photograph which is included in a history book can be easily overlooked, and seen as little more than illustration of the text. However, on isolating that image, the discussion can be extended. As a representation of the Christchurch Club, Figure 3:1 expands on ideas of the masculine space 'in between' that sits between the public world of work, economics and politics, and the private ideals of the family home. It introduces an idea of camaraderie

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<sup>26</sup> *Ibid*, 74.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid*, 29-30.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid*, 30.

<sup>29</sup> Ogilvie, 84.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid*, 85.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid*, 95.

between men, which hints at Phillips' ideas of a man's country and also questions them. The importance of the homosocial world has been understood in its relationship to domestic ideals of the family home in international scholarship. This photograph can be seen to offer evidence of this in its informal presentation of the elite men of Christchurch.



## Christchurch Boys' High School

Against the backdrop of World War One, Christchurch Boys' High School issued three school magazines in 1917, as they did every year. Central to the magazines that year were stories of former students.<sup>32</sup> A special edition of the *Boys' High School Magazine* ran in August 1917. Letters from old boys at the front filled the pages, and a copy was sent to every former student. Inside the August edition it was noted that:

As in every other branch of life so in our school the war is demanding a heavy tribute. Many of our Old Boys have answered the last roll-call, and we sorrow for the loss of them. ... Every time the sad news arrives, the Headmaster announces it at prayers, the last post being played, while the whole School stands at attention.<sup>33</sup>

Eleven names were added to the "Roll of Honour" in the special edition, each recording details of the lives and deaths of former students.<sup>34</sup> Focusing on 1917, three photographs have been selected for analysis from the issues of the *Boys' High School Magazine*. While images of past students dominated the pages, the focus is on the boys who found their school experience being played out with the backdrop of war. Representations of leadership, physical prowess and the role of the military are central considerations.

With slicked back hair and uniforms neatly worn, the 1917 monitors demonstrate the importance of leadership at Christchurch Boy's High School (Figure 3:2). Their photograph featured in an insert between pages twelve and thirteen, with the boys clearly posed. They were in three rows, the front seated and the back two standing. In total, there were twelve boys pictured. All were dressed in three piece suits, with most of the group opting to style their hair carefully. None of the monitors were sporting facial hair, a likely nod to the

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<sup>32</sup> *Boys' High School Magazine*, No. 55 (1917); *Boys' High School Magazine* Special Number, No. 56 (1917); *Boys' High School Magazine*, No. 57 (1917).

<sup>33</sup> "School Notes," *Boys' High School Magazine* Special Number, No. 56 (1917) 41.

<sup>34</sup> "Roll of Honour," *Boys' High School Magazine* Special Number, No. 56 (1917) 5-10.



FIGURE 3:2 CHRISTCHURCH BOYS' HIGH SCHOOL MONITORS 1917, CHRISTCHURCH BOYS' HIGH SCHOOL MAGAZINE APRIL 1917

importance of school rules. In the front row the boys appeared to be following direction and had their legs crossed, though senior monitor D.W. Reese has adopted a different stance which marked his placement in the centre of the group. Whilst their legs matched in form, the five boys in the front row varied the placement of their hands. Franklin and Willoughby both spread their hands, with the latter taking advantage of his larger chair to mark out generous space for himself. At the other end of the row, the other three boys opted to clasp their hands. In contrast Main sat with his legs tightly crossed and hands rested elegantly on his thigh. The formality of the composition reinforces the importance of the perception of the boys' roles within the school. They are regarded seriously and have presented themselves in a manner to fit this.

There is no extended discussion within the magazine about the monitors for 1917. However, their names are listed on page one in every issue of the year which cemented their place within the school hierarchy. This suggests the position was highly regarded, but it

was assumed that the audience understood the implied responsibilities of the boys. D.W. Reese was noted, both alongside the photograph and on page one of the magazine, as the Senior Monitor for the year. Daniel Whitelaw Reese was a student at Christchurch Boys' High School from 1908 to 1918. From 1916, he was a monitor and member of the sports committee, captaining the first XI cricket team from 1917. Highly regarded as a batsmen, Reese top scored with 189 not out against the Old Boys' and was a lynchpin for his team.<sup>35</sup>

Other monitors feature in different roles throughout the school, from captain of the rugby first XV, through to officers in the Cadets. The boys photographed can be viewed as representations of idealised masculinity within the school. This bodes with Jon Swain's argument that English Victorian Public Schools were designed to prepare boys for armed service or professional roles, which thus means that taking on leadership roles within the school environment was clearly important.<sup>36</sup> This philosophy can be seen as featuring in World War One era New Zealand, with its inclusion of cadets and emphasis on the involvement of Old Boys in the Great War. However, whilst pursuits associated with typical manliness were present in sportsmen and the military focus, Theodore Paterson was listed alongside two deputy monitors as magazine editors. This acknowledges that students who undertook leadership roles were expected to engage in activities beyond the physical. Also included in the list of School Officers were the two librarians, who interestingly were not included in any of the monitor roles.

Adopting the traditional rugby pose immediately identifies the sporting nature of the first XV team photograph (Figure 3:3). The crossed arms are a clear contrast to the monitors (Figure 3:2) who had the arms to their sides, or rested on elegantly crossed legs. It is a stern

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<sup>35</sup> "Cricket," *Boys' High School Magazine*, No. 58 (1918) 49.

<sup>36</sup> Jon Swain, "Masculinities in Education," in *Handbook of Studies on Men and Masculinities* eds. Michael S. Kimmel, Jeff Hearn and R.W. Connell (Thousand Oaks: Sage, 2005) 213-29.



FIGURE 3:3 CHRISTCHURCH BOYS' HIGH SCHOOL FIRST XV 1917, CHRISTCHURCH BOYS' HIGH SCHOOL MAGAZINE NOVEMBER 1917

pose that is seen as masculine and highlights the physicality of those photographed. The crossed legs of the boys in the front row are noticeably different to the pose often adopted by the boys who sit on the ground, furthering the idea of manliness being presented.<sup>37</sup> The use of the team uniform, the shield at the front and the banner which hangs in the back ensures that anyone who viewed this photograph in Christchurch was likely to recognise it. These identifying markers are an indication of the pride that is centred within the rugby team.

The first XV photograph was printed and inserted between pages thirty-four and thirty-five (out of fifty-three pages) in the November issues of the magazine, with the First XI cricket team photograph on the reverse. This photograph also included the presence of the

<sup>37</sup> For example, in this thesis the Buchanan Collection (Figure 1:4), the Wilding Collection (Figure 2:3) and the Beken Collection (Figure 2:7) show the younger members of the group seated with their legs out to the side.

two coaches standing at the ends of the back row, which ensured the audience are aware of the relative youth of the boys pictured. They presented a contrast of age, but are positioned on the outskirts of the photograph, an indication that they were there to guide but are not the central members of the team. There were familiar faces in this photograph, which highlights the link between the manly ideals of leadership and physical prowess. Six of the boys pictured in the monitors photograph (Figure 3:2) appeared amongst the first XV. As well as this, there was an early change in the personnel of the monitors, with R.F. Franklin leaving the school, and his place filled by J.A. Fraser - the first XV captain.

Rugby dominated a large chunk of the August and November editions of the school magazine, as past matches were recounted and performances assessed.<sup>38</sup> The only other sport to get a similar degree of attention was cricket, which commanded extended coverage in the April edition. The 1917 winter was a frustrating season for the school, despite achieving a reasonable degree of success on the field, and a lack of commitment to training earned a reprimand in the year-end report. The magazine noted that, “the attendance at practice was not as good as could be desired, several of the prominent players being the worst offenders, and the second fifteen showed a like failing in this respect. ... This want of keenness on the part of some of the players was unfair, both to their colleagues and to the School.”<sup>39</sup> Christchurch’s rugby heritage was well cemented by 1917, with an ongoing support of the development of rugby as the dominant football code. Christchurch Boys’ High School, modelled on the English Public School, demonstrated the importance of sporting rivalries. This was an idea which was seen throughout Canterbury, according to historian Geoffrey Vincent, where the mass support of rugby emerged due to its means of creating an ever ex-

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<sup>38</sup> “Football,” *Boys’ High School Magazine*, No. 56 (1917) 47-59; “Football,” *Boys’ High School Magazine*, No. 57 (1917) 33-48.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid*, 33-34.

panding network of sporting rivalries, and defending civic pride.<sup>40</sup> The most notable school-boy rivalry was that between Christchurch Boys' High School and Christ's College. Accounts from the *Press*, the *Lyttelton Times* and the *Star* ran in the August edition of the school magazine. The backdrop of the war is duly noted, with the shilling charged for admission being directed towards various war funds.<sup>41</sup> The *Star* wrote of the great loss of past pupils who were abroad, and particularly those who had been killed in action.<sup>42</sup> A former pupil wrote in the *Star*, that the game was once again marked by a sizeable attendance of Old Boys' of both schools. He wrote that, "It is the sporting fixture of the year, so far as the two institutions are concerned, and the scholars of each school, naturally have their parents and friends attending to witness the game."<sup>43</sup> Whilst the result was a resounding lost for School, being beaten 15-0, primarily as a result of poor tackling, the event of the annual game was an important date on the calendar.

Within these posed photographs, the uniformity of style highlights the school's control over the individual presentations. The photographs were composed to be instantly recognisable by the audience. As such, they become somewhat indistinguishable from one year to the next. The boys were representatives of the school and thus were viewed as interchangeable actors who were expected to conform to the prescribed shaping of a masculine image. Meaning around the individuality is shaped by the words that surrounded the photographs, more so than the images themselves. For the boys, these photographs offered a record of their place within the school system. They knew to present themselves in a uni-

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<sup>40</sup> Geoffrey T. Vincent, "'To Uphold the Honour of the Province': Football in Canterbury c. 1853-c. 1890," in *Tackling Rugby Myths: Rugby and New Zealand Society 1854-2004* ed. Greg Ryan (Dunedin: Otago University Press, 2005) 30.

<sup>41</sup> "The School-College Football Match, 1917," *Boys' High School Magazine*, No. 56 (1917) 47-57.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid* 52.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid* 54.

form manner that is easily acknowledged. This changed based on what the narrative is that surrounds their persona in that moment. Comparing the boys who feature in both the monitors' photograph and the first XV photograph highlights this. They are stepping into a role which clearly defines them in that moment of record.

In many ways, the impact of war is glossed over in the photographs of current schoolboys. Whilst the pages are filled with acknowledgement of fallen soldiers, the schoolboys themselves demonstrate the continuation of a sense of normality within the school. Their daily activities are remarkably unchanged to what took place before the war, and the April magazine remarked on the, "hum-drum school life, which goes much the same as if there were no world war."<sup>44</sup> However, this does not accurately represent the ideas that are presented in the school magazines of 1917. Figure 3:4 is quite different from those previously discussed as it was of former pupils, though taken during their time at the school. A longer article regarding the Cadet Corps sat alongside this image from the April issue, which helps contextualise the photograph.<sup>45</sup> The two boys photographed are Douglas McBean Stewart and Frederick Archibald de la Mare, who were two of the first boys to serve as officers within the school cadets. In their youth, they acknowledge a military presence within the school through their cadet uniform. They both are strong in their stance, and are posed in such a way as to draw attention to their uniforms and the swords each has in hand. An account written by William Campbell, who held the role of Captain briefly before stepping aside and being replaced by De la Mare, it is a reflection of days gone by. However, its appearance in the pages of the school magazine is notable in the midst of memorials of past students who have been killed in action. Throughout the war years, this recognition of

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<sup>44</sup> "Editorial Notes," *Boys' High School Magazine*, No. 55 (1917) 2.

<sup>45</sup> "The Cadet Corps," *Boys' High School Magazine*, No. 55 (1917) 25-30.



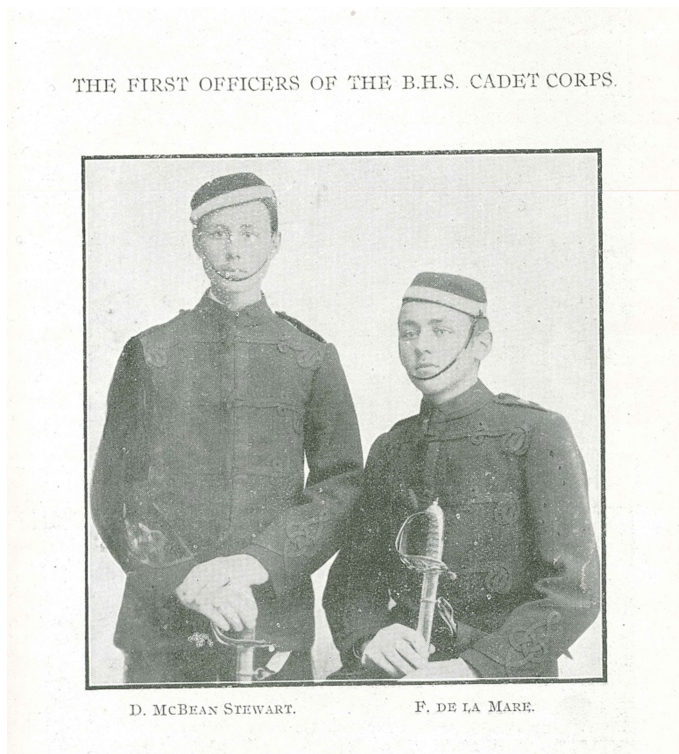


FIGURE 3:4 CHRISTCHURCH BOYS' HIGH SCHOOL CADETS, CHRISTCHURCH BOYS' HIGH SCHOOL MAGAZINE NOVEMBER 1917

students was pronounced with additions regularly added to the school's 'Roll of Honour'. In the winter of 1915, the name of Lieutenant Colonel Douglas McBean Stewart was added to the list after being killed on 25 April at Gallipoli. The magazine wrote that, "All in any way associated with him concur in the opinion that he was a born leader, and an officer of very superior attainments."<sup>46</sup> Also included in the April 1917 issue, was a small supplementary addition to the magazine. This noted the unveiling of a memorial board for Colonel Stewart, on which the names of senior cadet officers would be etched.<sup>47</sup> By looking at the past, this school with its short history was placing soldiers at the heart of what had come before.

J.F. Moffat and G.C. Slatter's chapter "Cadets nurtured great service tradition," is central to the discussion of the link between the military and Christchurch Boys' High School

<sup>46</sup> "Our Roll of Honour," *Boys' High School Magazine*, No. 52 (1915) 8.

<sup>47</sup> "Unveiling of the Colonel Douglas McBean Stewart Memorial Board," *Boys' High School Magazine*, Supplement to No. 55 (1917) 1.



in the school's history, *The Years Between*.<sup>48</sup> It is apparent that the onset of World War One had an impact on the boys, and undoubtedly this resulted in shaping their ideas of masculinity. Teachers again became important figures in the corps, and cadet camps were reinstated in 1915. By 1918, the numbers involved had increased so much that a return to two companies was necessitated after a short period of only a single company. All students were able to receive practical training in shooting in 1917 with the opening of the miniature rifle range.<sup>49</sup> Alongside this practical interaction with service, the boys at the school were regularly reminded of the past pupils who had been killed in action. Not only were the pages of the magazine filled with photographs and letters, the news was filtered to them within the school environment itself. The magazine recorded that:

On Friday afternoons the Headmaster often takes the opportunity of reading to the School letters received from Old Boys at the Front, and also of instructing the school in the progress of the war. In these lectures the Headmaster gives a clear outline of the most striking events in the different fronts in Europe, and thus keeps them up in the development of the war.<sup>50</sup>

By the end of 1917, school boys were employed to help with the summer harvest as a form of war work.

Jock Phillips argued that World War One led to the re-emphasis of the idea of a man's country, fuelled by the public myth of heroism and courage by New Zealand soldiers.<sup>51</sup> In Ontario, Canada, according to Mark Moss in *Manliness and Militarism: Educating Young Boys in Ontario for War*, war was a romantic story which stoked schoolboys' enthusiasm for battles in far off lands.<sup>52</sup> He wrote that, "war, in all its manifestations, served as an

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<sup>48</sup> J.F. Moffat and G.C. Slatter, "Cadets nurtured great service tradition," in *The Years Between: Christchurch Boys' High School, 1881-1981* ed. A.T.Campbell, et al. (Christchurch: Caxton Press, 1981) 132-49.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid*, 138-39.

<sup>50</sup> "School notes," *Boys' High School Magazine*, No. 56 (1917) 42.

<sup>51</sup> Jock Phillips, *A Man's Country? The Image of the Pakeha Male - A History* Second Edition (Auckland: Penguin, 1996) 192.

<sup>52</sup> Mark Moss, *Manliness and Militarism: Educating Young Boys in Ontario for War* (Ontario: Oxford, 2001).

antidote to the crisis of masculinity, the fear of being perceived as effeminate, the plague of luxury and the materialism, the changes brought about by industrialism, and the feminization of society.”<sup>53</sup> This narrative of a manly war, and dreams of schoolboys to take part, does not fit with the story that plays out in 1917 at Christchurch Boys’ High School. It is clear that the war was ever present at the school, with names of fallen men read in assembly. Those killed in action are included in what is deemed a roll of honour, and it could be argued that this celebrates their involvement in the war. However, the day-to-day lives of the boys still appear to be centred on their involvement in the school, and those who are killed are mourned, not worshiped.<sup>54</sup> In the pages of the 1917 magazines, it is not a celebration of war that is central. Instead, there is a reinforcement of the cost of battle. For the old boys’ who received the magazine while on active service, there was both an acknowledgement of their hardship and also a sense of the continuity at their old school. Amongst stories of the bitter cold weather and the hope that it will all be over soon, the letters’ published from the former students reflect on school life. One letter writer explained that:

My brother keeps us well informed of all sports news regarding the School, so that we know fairly well everything regarding them. I was sorry that the boys didn’t do better in the football tournament, but, of course, they can’t always win, and I expect that, although beaten, they put up really good fights for premiership honours.<sup>55</sup>

Society relied on preparing boys to take on the burden of war, but within the pages of the *Boys’ High School Magazine* it was with pain that war was spoken about, alongside a continuation of tradition in the boys’ lives at school.

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<sup>53</sup> *Ibid*, 143.

<sup>54</sup> “School Notes,” *Boys’ High School Magazine* Special Number, No. 56 (1917) 41.

<sup>55</sup> Extract from a letter of A.H. Guiney, France 11/1/16, “Letters from the front, *Boys’ High School Magazine* Special Number, No. 56 (1917) 28.

## Conclusion

Engaging in the homosocial world of alternative domestic sites offers an extension on the idea of what has shaped New Zealand masculinity. The urban city of Christchurch offered settings, such as the gentlemen's club and the schoolyard, which were not part of the public or private spheres. Instead, these sites represent a space in between, where masculinity was shaped through its relationship with other men behind closed doors. This thesis has not looked explicitly at homosexuality, instead it has focused on how men, and boys, presented themselves in the 'in between'.

Four photographs have been examined in this chapter. The first sat within the realm of the Christchurch Club and offered an insight into a private setting. The men sat together, relaxed in each other's company, unconcerned about presenting an image to the wider world. In the remaining three photographs, the setting was a school and a contrasting idea was presented. The boys who filled the frame were clearly representing the school and thus they stood straight, with their uniform tidy and their hair carefully managed. It is in the contrasts of the images, that the bigger themes of this thesis come to light.

Underlying these photographs are the influences of relationships and settings on masculine identity. How the men interact with each other is strictly managed by the environment they are in. The formal schoolyard is governed by institutional rules, while the gentlemen's club is more closely aligned with the domestic ideals of the home. Set against an urban backdrop, this space in between is crucial for understanding that New Zealand masculinity is more complex than has often been presented.

## Conclusion

This thesis has argued that the masculine identities of men in the urban setting of Christchurch were more complicated than the traditional literature has suggested. How men saw themselves, and how they presented themselves in photographs, was shaped by aspects such as power, male and female relationships, and the setting. This argument acknowledges that masculinity has always been an evolving concept, moulded by external factors.

Jock Phillips claimed that New Zealand's masculine stereotype has been intrinsically tied to the nation's frontier origins. The kiwi bloke developed in a male-dominated environment, striving to overcome the wilderness. This historical narrative has remained dominant, proving enduring through literature and popular culture. However, it has begun to be questioned in recent years.

This thesis has looked to build on this expansion of men as a subject of historical enquiry, through focusing the attention on men in the urban setting of Christchurch during the period of 1880 and 1930. The use of this city was intended to act as an example of New Zealand urbanity, and as such it is argued that similar reflections would likely emerge from applying the framework of this thesis to other centres during the time period. From the industrial heart of the central city, through to an elite family's tennis court, and the institutional setting of a boys' school, differing ideas of what masculinity means have begun to be teased out through this thesis. Using photographs, expressions of masculinity have been centred in three settings - the public sphere, the private sphere, and the 'in between'. These settings demonstrate the challenges of reading gender, and the complexity that sits within the construction of a masculine identity.

By doing this, the focus has moved away from the stereotype of the kiwi bloke and towards an understanding of men's lives. Through looking at New Zealand men in a different way, the hope has been to contribute to the expansion of our understanding of the historical experience of men. Chris Brickell and Brendan Hokowhitu have pushed the boundaries, highlighting the complexity of New Zealand masculinity. This thesis has been more restrained. It has consciously focused on the middle and elite classes of an urban setting. The men who were portrayed through photograph in this essay did not look dissimilar to Phillips' image of the kiwi bloke. What this thesis has intended to do, however, is show that even within a predominantly white, middle class setting, the stereotypes of masculinity did not comfortably fit. It problematized the 'man's country' argument by focusing on representations of masculinity in the urban setting of Christchurch.

Alongside this expansion of the masculine history of New Zealand, this thesis has engaged with an emerging primary resource: the photograph. Visual history is a developing field, and again Brickell has been influential through his use of photography to engage with New Zealand's gay history. It is through photographs, he argued, that secrets are often revealed. This view has influenced the engagement with the visual in this thesis. By looking at how men presented themselves and how photographers have opted to capture them, an insight has been gained into a most personal representation of the past.

The methodological approach to the research was shaped by Gillian Rose and Penny Tinkler, who have both offered insightful discussions on how to work with visual sources. Through the use of text, intertextuality and context, meaning has been drawn from the photographs used. The process of close reading has offered insights, which are then situated alongside other primary source material. Searching for complexity and contradictions has highlighted the challenges of the concept of masculinity as a stereotype.

The process of working with photographs has brought with it unique challenges, particularly around the methodological framework. This influenced the project from beginning through to end, as it shaped the collection, reading and interpretation of the visual sources. Working in a city which is still feeling the consequences of a series of earthquakes has meant that access to photographs has been particularly problematic. However, through the wide casting of the net it has been possible to gather photographs which are representative of a slice of Christchurch's masculine history.

This thesis offers one possible interpretation of a collection of photographs, considering how these documents can be read and discussed to offer insight into history. It is hoped that this will offer another example of what can be done with visual sources. Of utmost importance is the recognition that visual history offers a unique window to the past, which can be lost through the written word and public accounts. This was a crucial component of what this thesis offered.

There are three other central findings that can be drawn out of this thesis. The first and second are the importance of relationships and settings to the development of masculine identity. Thirdly this thesis draws attention to urbanity as an area which needs more development within the New Zealand historiography.

Relationships come to the fore in photography, and this in turn has highlighted the influence these interactions have on masculinity. The various case studies demonstrate this, most prominently in regard to the interactions between men. This thesis argued that men defined themselves in relation to other men. The young Stanley Buchanan offered a clear example of this as he sat alongside and yet still separate from the journeymen and apprentices who worked in his father's iron foundry. It was in his relationship to these men that he defined himself, and underlying that relationship is the power he held as the future owner.

This relationship represented the class contrast, an underlying component of Christchurch, and New Zealand's, history.

Male-female relationships are also fundamental to the development of masculine identity. It was for this reason that particular emphasis has been placed on men within the private sphere, the 'traditionally' feminine space. This allowed an insight into how men interacted with women and how this influenced how they acted as men. Both Frederick Wilding and John Coombs were presented in photographs alongside women. Their masculine identities were thus defined by their roles as husband, or as father. Through Frederick's relaxed posture and his smile in the comfortable setting of a family gathering, the viewer of the photograph was being shown how he fit within the domestic environment. This shaped Frederick's masculine identity, contrasting it to the dominant stereotype of New Zealand men.

Alongside relationships, the setting in which men were situated in was also fundamental to how they portrayed their masculine identity. The men of the New Brighton Borough Council and the boys at Christchurch Boys' High School were formally dressed and presented, in recognition of the setting that formed the backdrop. All pictured had taken on roles as representatives, whether in politics, sports, or other leadership positions. With the photographer directly in front of them, they were aware of the image they presented to the future audience and thus how they wish to be perceived. Against the institutional backdrop, there was a presentation of power through the use of formal stance, composition and the three piece suit worn as uniform. Contrasting this, the men of the Christchurch Club gathered on the lawn for a photograph. Whilst the setting dictated an elite class background of the men, and they dressed formally, the men did not offer uniformity in their presentation to the camera. Instead they were relaxed and jovial in this 'in between' setting, where men

interacted in the domesticated masculine realm of the gentleman's club. The setting therefore shapes the masculine presentations of the men.

The importance of setting to masculinity construction influenced the structure of this thesis. It dictated the use of the three chapters which examined the idea of separate spheres, and the space 'in between' which is neither wholly public nor private. It has been argued throughout this thesis that these different settings shaped how men presented themselves, and the evidence supported this. Whilst different men have been used in each setting, the threads that tie them together reinforced the use of this structure. What was clear was that in photographs, the composition, style, dress and interactions of the men were different in the various sites within the different spheres.

The third finding of this thesis is that New Zealand's urban history is an area worthy of further study, particularly in the period of 1880 through to 1930. Trevor Burnard argued that the development of Christchurch centred on the desire for civilisation, and an appreciation for the moral virtue of urban living. This thesis supported this idea, focusing on men who lived and worked in the city of Christchurch during a period of growing urbanisation in New Zealand. The men at the centre of the case studies were often men who primarily shaped their masculine identity in ways which sat counter to the New Zealand stereotype. Power was fundamental, particularly in relation to other men, instead of physical strength or bravery. This does not discount the importance of New Zealand's rural history, but it does illustrate why the urban centres are critical as well.

This thesis has highlighted several areas for future study, most of which centre on the expansion of the findings presented here. As has already been noted, the history of New Zealand men is an area that is still underdeveloped in many ways. Where this thesis has been limited is in its discussion of race and masculinity. Hokowhitu has begun looking at



Maori men, but New Zealand has a rich multicultural history which needs to be further explored. The use of photography as the primary source for this thesis hindered this somewhat, as it has in many ways been restricted to what was accessible in the archival holdings which were viewed. However, it is hoped that this thesis has demonstrated how engagement can be undertaken in a way which can be transferred to other photographic collections.

As well as this, the representation of men within the private realm is an area that is in need of further examination. Brickell has begun to look at this, most noticeably in his work on Robert Gant. This work has been ground-breaking in its focus on the intimate relationships between men. However, the understanding of male and female intimacy can, and should, also be extended by looking more closely at the role men have played as husbands and fathers in New Zealand's history. Often seen as secondary figures within the private sphere, the work of John Tosh demonstrates the challenges of that reading in Victorian England and this is worthy of further investigation in New Zealand.

Masculinity, photography, and urbanity have all been shown as areas worthy of further study. This thesis has begun an engagement with these, demonstrating the convergence of historical research. It has used a series of case studies to extend the understanding of New Zealand men in a new way, one centred on examining how masculinity has been shaped by ideas of power, of social relationships, and of the importance of settings within separate spheres. In an extension of the research that has come before, this thesis has argued through its analysis of photographic representation that the lived experiences of Christchurch men during the period of 1880-1930 were more complex than the stereotypes of New Zealand masculinity have suggested.

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